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Cusco después de *Los zorros*: The Legacy of Arguedas in Contemporary Andean Narrative

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Cusco después de *Los zorros*: The Legacy of Arguedas in Contemporary Andean Narrative

by

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my family, because without their unfaltering support, I know that I would not be where I am today. Thank you, Mom, Dad and Daniel, for always believing in me.

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Cusco después de *Los zorros*: The Legacy of Arguedas in Contemporary Andean Narrative

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This dissertation is an in-depth investigation of the manner in which Peruvian Andean identities are represented and constructed in Cusqueñan literature after José María Arguedas's posthumous publication of *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* (1971). In this text, fragmented language reconstructs itself in the form of a new community for the future that can be seen as the symbolic "body" of a possible nation, a "utopia under construction." Peruvian Andean authors after Arguedas echo his perspective on language through their literary production: they pick up the fragments of the Andean past to recreate and reformulate a new Andean identity through language. Subsequently, they transform their perceived marginality into the "new center" of Peruvian contemporary identity by positing *choledad* (a term originating in the Colonial era used to negatively denote a person's Andean or indigenous characteristics) as a defining trait of all Peruvians.

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Introduction

The themes of race, marginality and identity are predominant throughout this dissertation, and as I contemplate how to introduce my work to my readers, I realize that any personal anecdote that I could tell would necessarily imply a categorization, either by my readers or self-imposed, that involves such themes. As a light-skinned, light-eyed North American scholar from a monolingual English-speaking family, I have experienced a variety of reactions when I tell people that my academic interests center on contemporary Andean literature. Some are incredulous, others are laudatory and praise my command of the Spanish language, and still others are defensive. I do not claim to speak from any point of view other than my own, but when I visited Peru for the first time, during the summer of 2002 to volunteer in a urban, largely residential district on the outskirts of Lima called Villa El Salvador, I found that the more I learned about the residents of the district, mostly immigrants from the Andes and the younger generations of their families who had be born there on the coast, the more I felt a connection to them, both as individuals and as a community. During that first trip to Peru I found that the senior citizens with whom I worked had an uncanny ability to tell intriguing stories about their lives, and even more so, I realized that a short summer in Peru would not be enough to discover exactly what that connection I had experienced entailed.

Now, a decade and countless trips to Peru later, I continue to explore that connection that sparked my interest, and I believe that it lies in the implications of the various identitary discourses present in the country that seemed to me to be magnified in the spaces of Villa El Salvador ten years ago. The at once harmonious yet contradictory elements of my first impressions of Peru can be summarized by an older gentleman's reaction to my request to learn some Quechua with him. The next day he arrived at the

community center with a Bible printed in his native language, Quechua. He asked me to sit down and tell him with which verses I would like to begin, assuming that my knowledge of the contents of the book in my own language would serve as a starting point for me to learn his language. While the lesson turned quickly to a vocabulary lesson for body parts (eyes, nose, mouth, etc.) after I explained that I did not know any Bible verses in any language, I realized later the importance of the interaction as a representation of a contemporary Andean identity, an identity that recognizes, traverses and redefines linguistic, geographic and social borders put in place by hegemonic discourses.

The present investigation is the result of an inquiry into current literary production in the Peruvian Andes. I find the border position that José María Arguedas occupies in his texts to be fascinating and extremely pertinent to the field. Arguedas (1909 – 1969) was a Peruvian novelist, poet and ethnographer born in Andahuaylas, in the southern part of the Andes, whose anthropological and creative works centered on the Peruvian Andean identity and Quechua speaking cultures. Arguedas's self-identification as Quechua yet also as *criollo*, a term used to describe Peruvians of European descent usually from coastal metropolitan areas like Lima, provided him a perspective in his works that allowed him to enunciate from within the perspective of the Andean cosmovision, yet also insert his works and ideas, albeit marginally, into hegemonic discourses dominated by the Limeño *criollo* elite.[1] In terms of the author's novelistic

[1] Although the term "cosmovision" constitutes an indigenous holistic understanding of the world and the cosmos, it is not automatically something that can be expressed exclusively in Quechua, or exclusively by a practitioner/believer in indigenous religions. After all, as early as the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega or Guaman Poma de Ayala, indigenous subjects claimed to be practicing Catholics, yet articulated an indigenous cosmovision. In fact, the term "cosmovision" itself is not an indigenous concept, but one developed by Wilhelm Dilthey, a German historian, psychologist, sociologist and hermeneutic philosopher in the early 20th century. Dilthey was a follower of a school of Romantic hermeneutics that believed in a "living" experience rather than a Cartesian "theoretical" subject. He thus invented the concept of "Weltanschauung," composed of Welt (world) and Anschauung (view or outlook) which has been

production, his works span from the early 1940s with his first novel *Yawar Fiesta* (1941), to 1971, with the posthumous publication of his last arguably incomplete novel, *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo*.[2] Arguedas was a pioneer in his time in that he constantly pushed the limits of his prose, from his first novels that sought to move beyond the traditional *indigenista* portrayal of indigenous people in the Andes, to his last novel, that precariously balances on a precipice between linguistic expression from a contemporary Andean perspective and something much greater: a contemporary Andean literature that does not take its cues from Limeño or cosmpolitan definitions of modernity or modern literary expression.[3]

In order to understand the foundations of contemporary Andean narrative built by Arguedas, we have to also understand the dramatic changes that the Andean region of Peru underwent just after Arguedas's death, which reconfigured the area and transformed

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translated as cosmovision or world view. Weltanschauung, used first by Kant and later popularized by Hegel, was always used in German and later used in English to refer more to philosophies, ideologies and cultural or religious perspectives. Mexican historian Alfredo López Austin defines cosmovision as "el conjunto estructurado de los diversos sistemas ideológicos con los que el grupo social, en un momento histórico, pretende apprehender el universe, engloba todos los sustemas, los ordena y los ubica." (20) Thus, it is a sort of "felt ideology," as opposed to a "thought-through ideology," but ideology is also a Western concept invented in the 18th century and developed by Hegel in the 19th as a system of ideas. Cosmovision was introduced in Latin America by German and American anthropologists in the early 20th century to explain indigenous beliefs, but also to essentialize them as "primative," "archaic" and other analogous ideas that placed them outside of modernity. Cosmovision itself then, is not an indigenous concept. In empirical terms, a cosmovision represents the fragmented remnants of ancient indigenous belief-systems, still articulated by contemporary subjects of either indigenous descent, or living in communities highly impregnated by indigenous cultures. Thus, in my understanding, one can be a non-indigenous subject, write in Spanish, and share elements of an indigenous cosmovision. While cosmovision is generally associated with a relations between subjects and the cosmos and related to the environment, both real and symbolic, denoting very little if any separation between nature and culture, which markedly differentiates it from Western thinking, it would be remiss to consider that these characteristics cut those with indigenous cosmovisions from the social world.

[2] I will refer to this novel from this point forward as *Los zorros*.

[3] *Indigenismo* is the literary, political and anthropological trend popular in the 1930s and 40s that focused on the study and defense of the rights of indigenous populations in Latin America. Although its intentions were aimed in the right direction, *indigenista* writers were not indigenous themselves; they were *criollo* writers who undertook the defense of indigenous populations through their writing, yet many times reinforced the dominating structures of coloniality.

our understanding of the reality depicted in his texts. The aristocracy of the young nation of Peru in the nineteenth century serves as a starting point for comprehending the social situation in contemporary Peru. Lettered elite leaders of the recently independent country understood one of the most important tasks of their position to be the "civilization" of the indigenous masses in an effort to bridge the gap between what Carlos Iván Degregori refers to as the "legal country" and the "real country" (*The Peru Reader* 215). Their modernization efforts, bolstered by foreign investments in the mining industry, frequently used terms such centralization and national integration, yet they actually reinscribed the logic of control by white elites so familiar from the recent colonial era, which further drove a wedge in between the "backward" Andean region and its "modern" coastal cities (*The Peru Reader* 215).

The 1920s were witness to the first organized efforts attacking racist assumptions of indigenous inferiority and degradation, embodied in the *indigenista* movement, whose varied perspectives and sometimes somewhat romanticized ideals were linked together by the idea that the indigenous population of the country was paramount to the development and success of the nation (*The Peru Reader* 216). The *indigenista* movement influenced politics, social reform and literature alike. Many times it was complemented by a growing interest in socialism, whose principal representative in Peru was José Carlos Mariátegui (*The Peru Reader* 216). The duality of *indigenismo* and socialism promised a future for the country that was built on the traditions and interests of national majorities until Augusto Leguía's eleven-year dictatorial presidency (1919-1930) that sought to reinstate the oligarchic system of the previous century, urbanizing and modernizing the country, yet determined to detain "the advance of Communism and its dreadful consequences" at any cost (*The Peru Reader* 217).

While Leguía's regime ended with the Great Depression, oligarchic rule by dictatorial governments like his own continued until well beyond the 1950s (*The Peru Reader* 255). During this time, intellectual elites blamed indigenous populations of the country for its misfortunes (*The Peru Reader* 255). However, the state's efforts toward modernization had a perhaps unintended effect: the marginalized and racialized majority of the population now considered themselves part of the nation, and thus part of national discourses on identity. The 50s and 60s were witness to massive peasant movements to take back indigenous lands, and a wave of migration to coastal cities, especially Lima, changed the social topography of these "modern" cities (*The Peru Reader* 255). Fernando Belaúnde's election in 1963 marked the rise of an urban professional class and the decline of the *criollo* elite's power, and even the military coup that overthrew his government in 1968 reinforced the movement toward a government of the middle classes by implementing the reforms that Belaúnde could not (*The Peru Reader* 256). General Juan Velasco's military government (1968-1975) nationalized the International Petroleum Company and other private companies in an effort to reduce foreign dependency and began a sweeping agrarian reform (*The Peru Reader* 256) in order to bring Peru's marginalized population into the consumer market (García, José Z. 485).

The military dictatorship became increasingly authoritarian as time progressed, and disillusion with the economic policies implemented grew (García, José Z. 485). The badly mismanaged agrarian reform left thousands of capital-poor and mostly uneducated small farmers who could not reach the production numbers of even the pre-reform industry, and the entire country found itself in a state of increased social unrest (García, José Z. 384). In 1975 Velasco was deposed by a military coalition, and Francisco Morales Bermúdez (1975-1980) was appointed interim president. This second phase of the military government implemented a series of counterreforms that led to teacher and

worker walkouts and strikes, a symptom of the general unrest and disapproval present throughout the population of the country (*The Peru Reader* 256).

By 1980 the military government had stepped down from power due to internal and international pressure, and Fernando Belaúnde (1963-1968, 1980-1985) was re-elected as president. However, while the marginalized populations of the country had realized the strength of their voices and actions in the sphere of national discourses (*The Peru Reader* 256), the economic problems of the previous years caused the early 80s to be witness to a period of severe decline (García, José Z. 486). Along with the return of a civilizian government, the elections of 1980 occasioned an event that would mark the beginning of a new era: The day before Belaúnde was elected president five members of the Partido Comunista del Perú–Sendero Luminoso burned ballot boxes in the Ayacucho village of Chuschi (*The Peru Reader* 305). The Sendero Luminoso, or Shining Path, became one of the largest and most violent insurgency groups in the history of the country, and even quite possibly in Latin America (*The Peru Reader* 305). They implemented a class-based Marxist ideology in their efforts to overthrow the Peruvian state and to create a "world proletarian revolution" (*The Peru Reader* 306).

Unfortunately, the economic crisis and severe economic measures facilitated the spread of the group's popularity, especially among marginalized populations that were not satisfied with the official and exclusionary discourses of the state. The Sendero Luminoso's membership grew quickly from 100 in its early years to 10,000 by 1990 (García, José Z. 486). The Senderistas were not the only armed group operating in Peru at the time, either. A smaller *guerilla* group, the Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru (MRTA) also pursued armed struggle in a different area of the country, with a distinct ideology and dissimilar methods. Both groups spoke not only to the country's need for a reconstitution of governmental policies, but also to the racism toward and exclusion of

indigenous populations from national discourses. Their manifestos, based on ideology adopted from José Carlos Mariátegui in the case of the Shining Path (García, José Z. 486), and from the eighteenth century rebellions of the Inca descendant Tupac Amaru in the case of the Amaristas (García, José Z. 487), underlined the need to incorporate Andean and indigenous discourses into a national identity, an element that first appeared with Velasco's own presidency in a justification of land reform as a means of addressing *gamonalista* racism.[4]

Alán García's presidential term (1985-1990) only exacerbated the problems of political corruption, violence and hyperinflation that the country was experiencing (*The Peru Reader* 419). When Alberto Fujimori was elected in 1990, his platform based on technology, hard work and honesty won the trust of the population, but difficult years lay ahead (*The Peru Reader* 420). Fujimori's economic policies aimed at bringing hyperinflation under control caused a deep recession throughout the country; the dire conditions of the poverty-stricken nation even caused an endemic of cholera (*The Peru Reader* 420). Fujimori's government was responsible for the capture of the Senderista leader Abimael Guzmán in 1992, which led to a number of arrests and peace accords that brought a relative tranquility to the nation, but his popularity waned as his democratic tendencies diminished. Fujimori's dramatic resignment from a questionably legal third term in 2000 occasioned a series of governments that have utilized neoliberal policies to

[4] *Gamonalismo* developed in Peru at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. It is a system reminiscent of medieval feudalism of highly privatized power in which local powers and landowners, mostly mestizos (or *mistis* in the Quechua version or the term) occupied an intermediary place between the rural Andean region and the urban centers of the coast, especially Lima (Degregori, Carlos Iván 165-166). The system of *gamonalismo* made the term *indio* synonymous with poor *campesino* and servant, and pushed the *indio* farther and farther away from the top of the ethnicized pyramid of Peru (Degregori, Carlos Iván 167-168). However, after the beginning of the 20th century, with the expansion of the market and modernization of the State, these ethnic boundaries came to be more and more porous, creating a space in which the indigenous people of Peru could defend their rights to land and traditions, and later, create a new idea of what it means to be Peruvian, different than the official version (Degregori, Carlos Iván 178).

further open up international trade. While such policies may reflect positive economic changes, they also continue to place marginal populations in the shadows or even utilize them as a cultural commodity. Still, as Carlos Iván Degregori notes, "Even the worst poverty and terror have not prevented the forging of alternative identities (*The Peru Reader* 457)… Culture develops in the busy and sometimes conflictual crossroads that break apart the expectation of wholeness, continuity or essence" (*The Peru Reader* 458).

As the country opened its doors to international trade in the 70s, Cusco, specifically, experienced an influx of tourism because of its pre-Colonial history and architecture. While Andean populations dealt with the political implications of their selfhood, they were also confronted with the idea that their identity was objectifiable as a cultural commodity. Tourists from all over the world flocked to see the wonders of Machu Picchu and Sacsayhuaman, invading the conservative city and changing its identitary topography. Later, in the 80s and early 90s, when the violence of the internal war deterred tourism and negatively affected the local economy, Cusqueñans realized their dependence on foreigners, for better or for worse. Writers in the most recent years still struggle with the identitary effects of such a dependency, examples of which are the recently popular *brichero* subgenre, a *brichero* being a Peruvian who uses their culture as a commodity to seduce foreigners for economic, personal or sexual gain (Vich 97), and also violent counter-arguments like that present in Jorge Vargas Prado's "Matador de gringas" (*Antes que las primeras veces*).

While literary criticism about Arguedas abounds, very little critical attention is given to literature produced after Arguedas's posthumous publication of *Los zorros* in 1971. Scholarship on Andean literature, especially prose, effectively ends with Arguedas

himself, with a few disperse exceptions.[5] Due to a number of reasons too long to explore in this introduction, but that would, of course, include social and political factors, Andean writers after Arguedas are faced with a difficult situation. Their works are either ignored completely by critics, or else, publishing houses that favor Limeño authors refuse to consider their work for publication. The fact that only a small number of Andean works manages to make itself visible in Peru's capital city is telling of the invisibility still suffered to this day by most Andean authors, a cultural sequel of internal colonialism. Andean literatures are marginalized because they are associated with "indian-ness," a devalued symbol for Lima-centric Peruvians who want to feel that they "belong" within acceptable modern parameters as defined by Eurocentric cosmopolitism. Thus, they have no interest in "gazing back" to their alleged "past," a space where most Limeños see only archaism and simplicity, rather than a culture worth revaluing, or one launching a dynamic reinvention of itself after the land reform and Senderismo.

Zein Zorrilla, a writer from the Andean province of Huancavelica located to the south of Lima, and also one of the writers whose works I analyze in the first chapter of this dissertation, arrives at the root of this issue in *La novela andina: tres manifiestos*, first published in 2004. The manifestos, he explains, are written especially with reference to marginal literatures that find themselves manipulated by communication media from a

[5] Some exceptions include Ulises Juan Zevallos Aguilar's chapter on the latest Peruvian poetry in Quechua in *Las provincias contraatacan*, a short article by William Rowe titled "Después de Arguedas: la historiografía y el problema de la 'novela andina,'" and Zein Zorrilla's manifestos on the Andean novel, *La novela andina: tres manifestos*. Zevallos explains how the newest generation is different from those who wrote in Quechua directly after Arguedas because they assume a transnational indigenous identity and they use the language as cultural and ethnic capital in the neoliberal context of contemporary Peru. Unfortunately, Zevallos does not take into account any poetry produced in the Andes that is not written in Quechua, nor does he turn his perspective towards narrative at any moment. Additionally, Zevallos rationalizes the change in perspective of the new generation of poets as a mere reaction to neoliberalism, which, from my perspective, diminishes the value of such literary production. The chapter is, however, one of the few published analyses of contemporary Andean literary production, aside from Rowe's short article published in *Allpanchis*, and Zein Zorilla's manifestos, which prove to be the most useful sources in defining contemporary Andean narrative.

hegemonic culture which impedes a democratic dialogue with Peruvian readers (*La novela andina* 2). Zorrilla's manifestos are introduced by a prologue in which the author explains the education that he received from his two grandmothers, one *mestiza* and the other *india*. For him, the conflict between the two cultures was not apparent until he was sent to attend school in the neighboring city; here he learned that the two cultures that seemed so compatible were not. He was taught too that literature and music were separate entities, each developing through their own particular manners. Yet, his view on music reflects those cultural practices: Instead of leaving his *hauynos* for literature, both literally and metaphorically, he opts to maintain the cultural identity that his grandmothers instilled in him and keeps both (*La novela andina* 8).[6] However, he also notes that, "Una vez planteada la escisión no hay más unidad" (*La novela andina* 9). Once he learned that there was a division between the two ways of life that had always existed harmoniously for him, there would always be a division. But he explains that his occupation of such a gray area, or border space, has its advantages:

> Podemos venir de todos los puntos del Perú, reunirnos en una sala de abolengo criollo como esta, sentirla nuestra por unas horas, hablar de Conflictos Culturales, obsequiar a nuestros oídos con una voz de Querobamba y a nuestro paladar con un Whisky escocés (*La novela andina* 10).

In other words, Zorrilla introduces his manifestos by arguing that as Andean, he identifies with both *criollo* and indigenous identitary discourses, and he considers it an advantage to be able to traverse the borders between the two.

The first manifesto, titled "La novela andina contemporánea o Manifiesto del María Angola," is an essay defining the terms "novel," "Andean," and "contemporary." While Zorrilla's definition of Andean differs from my own (I delve further into the

[6] As we will see in the following chapters, many other contemporary Andean writers link traditional musical genres like the *huayno* with literature.

concept of Andean later in this introduction), the author establishes definitions that can be applied and problematized in regards to the body of work I look at here. The second manifesto, "El canon literario criollo," is a collection of observations on the *criollo* canon, a manifestation of an ex-colony that seeks to imitate the preferences of the metropolis and which is constituted by prejudices and misunderstandings (*La novela andina* 21). In Peru, Zorrilla notes, Limeño culture possesses a canon that is imposed on the diverse cultures of the country, and this canon is a powerful tool for molding cultures (*La novela andina* 22). The author discerns the irony of such a representation: "El Who's who de este país de cholos se dicta desde el cercado de Lima, cuando no desde un café de Miraflores" (*La novela andina* 22). Nonetheless, Andean writers develop their own strategies in dealing with the oppressive *criollo* canon, which, Zorrilla hopes, will combine with the effects of globalization to affirm that a large component of the national identity of Peru comes from the Andes (*La novela andina* 25).

In the last and final manifesto, "El modernismo europeo," Zorrilla begins by detailing the transformation from the classic novel to the modern novel, yet only in a European context. Part way through the chronology, he casually inserts the observation: "Los tercermundistas de hoy no contábamos en ese panorama… Éramos las colonias… cuyos habitantes merecían ser asimilados a los valores culturales de una Europa que se constituía en modelo de la humanidad" (*La novela andina* 34). The manifesto continues with the arrival of the modern novel to Latin America in the twentieth century, and Zorrilla defines three stages of Andean literature: that produced during the first half of the century when aristocratic exporters and landholders ruled the country, Boom literature, that according to Zorrilla brought the novel to the middle and lower classes yet did not have any "padres locales… y tampoco tiene hijos locales," (*La novela andina* 41) and finally the most recent time period in which a great majority of readers have left Boom

writers behind for literature of the Orient (*La novela andina* 41). According to Zorrilla, this present literature, which echoes the problems of the readers' own environments, invites Andean writers to create a balance among their inherited traditions.

This last manifesto reinscribes contemporary Andean literature into a global canon that dialogues with, yet distinguishes itself from, Western influences. It urges readers to rethink the divide between the capital and its provinces and the underlying structures that hegemony has put in place. These structures are best represented by Aníbal Quijano's coloniality of power, a concept that Quijano uses to explain the dominating structures of society that began with colonialism and continue today throughout Latin America in the form of coloniality. Quijano explains the coloniality of power in the following way:

> What is termed globalization is the culmination of a process that began with the constitution of America and colonial/modern Eurocentered capitalism as a new global power. One of the fundamental axes of this model of power is the social classification of the world's population around the idea of race, a mental construction that expresses the basic experience of colonial domination and pervades the more important dimensions of global power, including its specific rationality: Eurocentrism. The racial axis has a colonial origin and character, but it has proven to be more durable and stable than the colonialism in whose matrix it was established. Therefore, the model of power that is globally hegemonic today presupposes an element of coloniality (Quijano 533).

It is a notion that Zorrilla first realized when as a young boy he was sent to a school in the city of Huancayo, the first time in his life that he had to choose between the indigenous and *mestizo* identities that had always coexisted harmoniously for him. "Entonces se quebró la unidad de ese mundo y en el futuro todo fue, o pretender ser o mestizo o indio" (*La novela andina* 6). For Zorrilla, in Lima the distinction was even more profound: "Las opciones eran 'ser peruano,' o 'ser del interior.' Y 'ser peruano' significaba 'ser criollo'" (7). The break in unity that Zorrilla experiences personally is also reflected in

Arguedas's works, especially in *Los zorros*, where the fragmentation of identity manifests itself in the fragmentation of language, to the point that language is no longer communicative. Fortunately though, in *Los zorros*, the fragmented language serves to highlight the structures of society upon which language is based, consequently permitting Arguedas's readers to see through the artificiality of language and arrive at the fundamental characteristics of contemporary Andean identity.

Zorrilla explains that Limeño culture has taken on as its own the representation of the nation since colonial times (*La novela andina* 21). For Limeños, and thus for the rest of the nation, Limeño culture was synonymous with Peruvian culture. However, Zorrilla argues that Andean culture has begun to permeate all types of cultural manifestations and language, that "los hombres [del futuro] descubirán algo que lo que muchos hoy estamos seguros: que *todos somos andinos*, unos blancos y otros negros, unos pedantes y otros humildes" (*La novela andina* 26, my emphasis). His argument and my own coincide: Contemporary Andean literary production is thriving, and the legacy that Arguedas left behind is part of a trajectory of identitary discourses that continues on today throughout the region. Unfortunately, such production has been subjected to varying degrees of silence in hegemonic circles of academia and the cycles of producing and consuming symbolic objects as cultural capital. Andean writers in Peru whose literary expression follows that of Arguedas enunciate from spatial, temporal and cultural margins. From these margins, they, like Arguedas, destabilize hegemonic discourses through literature in order to create new identitary paradigms that do not sacrifice either side of a both Andean and contemporary identity.

Zorrilla's statement, "todos somos andinos," is exemplary of an inclusionary identitary articulation in which dominant discourses created through a coloniality of power are not viable as such. Instead, he looks toward a future in which the entire nation

realizes that they too compose an identity that should be celebrated instead of marginalized. Zorrilla is not alone in his optimistic sentiment: The slogan "Todos somos cholos" has been a recurrent theme in Andean society and cultural production since the early 2000s when the political party Constructores Perú adopted the motto in their regional campaigns.[7] The message resonates with Zorrilla's; *Choledad*, or the colonially-charged act of humiliating or disrespecting someone because of their perceived racial inferiority, is being resignified by marginal Andean discourses as an identity of which to be proud instead of as a source of stigmatization. Writers, literary critics, and scholars throughout the social sciences have taken note of this subversive phenomenon in works like José Guillermo Nugent's *Laberinto de la choledad* (1992) and Jorge Bruce's psychoanalysis of Peruvian society *Nos habíamos choleado tanto* (2007), both of which I will discuss at length in the second chapter of this book. The main focus of both Zorrilla's "Todos somos andinos" and the slogan "Todos somos cholos" is an effort to push from the margins of dominant discourses in order to change that which has always been considered simply given.

Contrary to what a Lima-centric perspective on literary production may suggest, there has been quite a bit of production from the Andes in the decades after Arguedas's death. In fact, the breadth and diversity of contemporary Andean literature in Peru has constrained my focus, for the purposes of this specific investigation, to literature from Cusco. Cusco's importance stems not only from its historical centrality in the Andes dating back to precolonial times when the city was the governmental and cultural center and the meeting point of the four regions or *suyus* that made up the Tawantinsuyu of the Inca Empire. Cusco's influence on contemporary literary production also stems from its

[7] *Cholo* is a term used in Latin America to refer to someone who is racially inferior to the speaker, whether they are of indigenous or mixed descent. Its first known usage appears in the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's *Comentarios reales* in the sixteenth century.

prominence in the works themselves, starting with that of Arguedas and continuing through the present. The liminality of the city, its *contradictory totality* to use Cornejo Polar's term, provides a background and an inspiration to those who write about it or from it: indigenous and Spanish facets of the city remain distinct, yet the city maintains its unity as both Andean and Peruvian.[8]

The opening chapter of Arguedas's most popular novel, *Los ríos profundos* (1958), portrays Cusco in the power of its contradictory totality. Ernesto, the protagonist, and his father, enter Cusco by night. It is a city that they consider their own in certain ways, yet one that does not recognize them, making them both insiders and outsiders at the same time (*Los ríos profundos* 140). Ernesto's father points out an ancient Inca palace, and Ernesto notices the architectural resonance of the city's culture: "Era oscuro, áspero; atraía con su faz recostada. La pared blanca del segundo piso empezaba en línea recta sobre el muro" (*Los ríos profundos* 140). The colonial city is built upon the Incaic foundation. But for the protagonist the cultural totality of the city goes further than an Inca city that served as the basis for what came in the colonial period and beyond. For Ernesto the Inca walls of the past are still part of the present, moving and active, and even more communicative than the stagnant colonial architecture. Upon contemplation of the walls, the boy notes:

> Eran más grandes y extrañas de cuanto había imaginado las piedras del muro incaico; bullían bajo el segundo piso encalado que por el lado de la calle angosta, era ciego… Era estático el muro pero hervía por todas sus líneas y la superficie era cambiante, como la de todos los ríos del verano, que tienen una cima así, hacia el centro del caudal, que es la zona temible, la más poderosa (*Los ríos profundos* 144).

[8] According to Cornejo Polar, "No basta transformar un singular engañoso (la literatura peruana) en un plural efectivo pero opaco en lo que toca a su aptitud explicativa (las literaturas peruanas); se trata de comprender a fondo, mediante una categoría adecuada, la índole profunda de una totalidad que descubre su sentido a partir de sus contradicciones internas." (*Totalidad* 44)

This is Arguedas's Cusco, the Cusco that is so important in the Andean imaginary because of its strength, movement, and communicative powers in spite of the oppression and dominance inherent in both the legacy of colonialism and in coloniality.

Yet Ernesto occupies a liminal space in Cusco. He belongs and he does not belong; he identifies with the walls, yet he is told that they cannot speak (*Los ríos profundos* 146-147). In effect, Ernesto's perception of Cusco is a reflection of the marginality of Andean identities from the hegemonic *criollo* or national identity. Accordingly, Cusco is the embodiment of such marginalization. It is for this reason that I have chosen to focus on Cusqueñan literary production after Arguedas in spite of the fact that Arguedas himself was not from the specific region. On the grander scale of identity throughout the *sierra*, Cusco plays a vital role, and so must its literature.

Within Andean literary expression, narrative and poetic production have taken slightly different paths. Contemporary poetry in Cusco boasts a number of writers who have gained recognition in national and international markets like Luis Nieto Miranda, Gustavo Pérez and Andrés Alencastre in the 1950s, Armando Salas Gamarra, Ángel Avendaño and William Hurtado from the following decade, and Odi Gonzáles in the more recent years. Excepting a lack of female poets, contemporary Cusqueñan poetry has maintained a consistent presence throughout the last half century. On the other hand, literary expression in the form of short stories, novels and essays suffers long periods of silence. Canonical narrators of the last half of the twentieth century include Enrique Rosas Paravicino, Luis Nieto Degregori, Carlos Sánchez Paz and Mario Guevara Paredes, who were all born in the late 1940s or early 1950s and whose literary production began in the 1980s and continues through today, and Karina Pacheco Medrano, who was born in the 1970s and did not begin publishing her works until 2006. The silences in narrative production from the region are more striking and thus more significant: poetry is

relatively successful in its insertion into dominant literary discourses, while narrative is not nearly so. In order to examine its lack of translatability or insertability into hegemonic discourses, I have chosen to focus the present investigation on narrative literary expressions.

Among the few nationally recognized examples of contemporary Cusqueñan narrative are the works of Luis Nieto Degregori, born in 1955. His novel *Cuzco después del amor* (2003) not only takes place in Cusco, but also has Cusco as a fundamental component of the story.[9] Taking into account the importance of Cusco in the trajectory of contemporary Andean literature and the national recognition of the author, *Cuzco después del amor* proves to be quite significant to the present investigation. However, its importance lies in what it is *not*, instead of what it is. Degregori's Cusco in *Cuzco después del amor* is a city perceived in the eyes of the hegemonic national discourse, contrary to Arguedas's Cusco in *Los ríos profundos.* All the more significant is the fact that Degregori himself, and the main character Martín Hernández, are Cusqueñans who have internalized such discourses to the point that they make themselves outsiders in their own society, looking down on aspects of the city and its population because it does not fit into the definition of modernity and progress that comes from the outside. The title of this dissertation alludes to *Cuzco después del amor* precisely for this reason: While Degregori continues to replicate hegemonic discourses on what modernity should look like, I prefer to consider Cusqueñan literary production in its own terms, or, rather, in the

[9] The name of the city is spelled using a number of variations, from Cusco to Cuzco, and even Qosqo or Qusqu. The traditional spelling is the one that Degregori uses, which is associated with the spelling used by the Spaniards. A more contemporary spelling is that which I use throughout this dissertation (with the exception of citations), replacing the traditional *z* with an *s*, which represents an effort to return to the word's Quechua pronunciation instead of Spanish. Quechua does not use the letter *z*. The last two spellings, Qosqo and Qusqu, are more extreme examples of spellings using Quechua phonetics to write the name of the city. The distinctions between spellings continue to be a topic of debate. We can see a play on the differences in the anthology *Cuszco* (2010) where Linda África Gutiérrez's short stories appear (See Chapter 3 for an in depth analysis of the title of the anthology and Gutiérrez's stories).

terms of the identitary configurations that, to a large extent, Arguedas detonated with the repsentation of diasporic Andeans in *Los zorros*.

Degregori's novel takes place in the Cusco of the late 80s and early 90s, and is meant to pay homage to a city that is disappearing due to the push of a misunderstood and misdirected modernity ("Entrevista" 62). In fact, in a interview the author explains that his, "relación con el Cuzco es la de una persona que admira la belleza de esa ciudad… La que es difícil es mi relación con la sociedad cuzqueña, una sociedad bastante tradicional, muy cerrada aún al mundo exterior" ("Entrevista" 62). Degregori promptly establishes a division between the aesthetics of the city that he loves and its inhabitants. For him, migration, tourism and foreign influence have opened up the city to radical changes, but Cusqueñan society itself has for the most part remained the same. "Se trata," he explains, "de una sociedad que ha permanecido aislada del resto del mundo durante siglos" ("Entrevista" 63). The isolation that he mentions is an extension of what José Guillermo Nugent refers to as indigenous peoples' being "cast outside of time" because they did not fit into the concepts of modernity and progress of the nation. Degregori maintains the perspective of the modern nation to which Nugent refers, reinforcing Cusco's position outside of time, in the archaic past.

The novel reflects his point of view and consequently objectifies the city for its aesthetic beauty, and in doing so, disassociates it from its inhabitants. The people of the city are perceived as ignorant because of their insistence on modernization with no regard for the architectural trends established in the colonial period that are clearly demarcated as either Inca or Spanish. The mayor of Cusco, the symbol of this ignorant push for modernization, inserts foreign elements into the cityscape such as fountains and murals in an attempt to beautify and modernize the city. However, in Degregori's opinion, this architecture "que no tiene nungún valor, ningún gusto, está reemplazando a esa

arquitectura de tanta fuerza y tanta belleza" ("Entrevista" 64). The author's objectification of the city implies that colonial cultural expressions with clear aesthetic divisions are valuable, yet those that emanate from contemporary discourses whose social (and racial) identifiers are much more ambiguous in terms of demarcations established during the colonial period should not be considered aesthetically pleasing. Degregori's argument to maintain the aesthetic value of the city is thus an argument for the preservation of colonial structures of power. According to the novel, new and foreign elements break the harmony of this city. In fact, they produce a threat to the long-established coloniality of power. It is for this reason, not because of aesthetic logic, that the protagonist Martín is adamantly against any new additions by the mayor to the construction of the city.

Ignorance of aesthetic value is a common discourse in Lima used to justify Limeño cultural expression as exemplary of national culture. In effect, Degregori merely repeats the discourse within the context of Cusco. As in José Guillermo Nugent's labyrinth of *choledad*, in Peru, everyone looks down on someone else for their social and racialized status, making him or her feel like *cholo* (Nugent 23) in the criticizing sense linked to coloniality that El Inca Garcilaso implies when we first see the use of the term in the *Comentarios reales* (Garcilaso de la Vega 86), and everyone is the *cholo* of someone else. Degregori has merely transferred the sentiment, internalizing the discourse of those who discriminate as truth; he is a representation of, as Jorge Bruce explains, an almost indestructible mechanism of social control, a "sutura infectada que recorre los contornos de nuestra historia" (Bruce 27).

Cleo, Martín's lover, represents another facet of the threat of new or foreign elements in already established discourses originating in the coloniality of power. Cleo works in painting restoration in La Compañía, the smaller of the two historic cathedrals

in the Plaza de Armas, and Martín is the director of the project, which is funded with a grant from Spain. When Martín meets Cleo, who is originally from the province Andahuaylas, coincidentally the same small Andean town where Arguedas was born and raised, he is struck by the simplicity of her clothes and the *provinciano* style of her speech that echoes Quechua syntax:

> Con un esposo pintor y dos hijos, [Cleo] estaba condenada a usar siempre la misma ropa barata, a tener las manos enrojecidas ya que el tiempo dejara en su rostro señales claras de su paso y no sólo eso. Como muchas cuzqueñas de extracción popular, Cleo tenía una noción de elegancia parecida a la de las mestizas de polleras del mercado (*Cuzco después del amor* 129).

Aesthetically, Cleo may not be ideal, but she becomes highly important in Martín's life because they understand each other sexually. He revels in the time they spend in bed, but cannot bring himself to invite her out with his friends or co-workers. She is the epitome of the clash between the two cultures, a threat to Martín's conception of Cusqueñan society. Therefore, when Cleo becomes pregnant and decides to keep the baby, a representation of the unification of the contradictory elements of both societies according to Martín, the protagonist is decidedly opposed to the idea. "El niño ese, un ser que era la negación de su propio ser, vendría al mundo y él ya no podía hacer nada para evitarlo" (*Cuzco después del amor* 250). He makes the only decision of which he can conceive from his position: he pushes Cleo off the tower on the roof of La Compañía, killing both her and the incarnation of a modern and progressive Cusco founded upon an Andean identity.

Martín's previous girlfriend provides an interesting counterpoint to his relationship with Cleo. Ilse, from Germany, is in effect, the opposite of Cleo. She was aesthetically and culturally suited to Martín's tastes – he was proud to take her to social gatherings and introduce her to his friends – but the two did not understand each other

sexually. Ilse also becomes pregnant, and in her case, Martín looks forward to the arrival of the baby. However, Ilse decides to abort the baby, which is the source of the couple's eventual separation. Martín internalizes his girlfriend's treatment of his identity and his possible future, and when the same situation occurs with Cleo, he merely repeats the learned dominant discourse. Additionally, it is Ilse, not Cleo, who inspires Martín's passion for Cusco and its architecture. He explains:

> Era gente venida de otros lugares la que le había incalcado ese interés por el Cuzco que con el tiempo se iría transformando en su verdadera pasión… Se sentía como un ciego que ha recuperado la vista, o más exactamente, como esos hombres que sólo son capaces de descubrir los encantos de una mujer a la que miran con indiferencia desde hace años cuando seducen a otro hombre (*Cuzco después del amor* 34-35).

Cusco for Martín only holds value when it is seen through a foreign perspective, but even then his construction of the city is not exactly right.

Martín searches for something to fill the void. His passion for Cusco's architecture merely reflects the perspective of his city that he learned from Ilse, and his relationship with Cleo provides the other side of the equation, but from his point of view is still lacking. As Martín plans Cleo's murder, he continues to hope for some sort of objectifying aesthetic perspective that will complete him as an individual, and thus Cusco as a society:

> Cabía la posibilidad de que algún día encontrara a otra mujer igual o más sensual que [Cleo] y con la que se comprendiera no sólo en la cama, una mujer con clase, con las manos cuidadas, bien arreglada, con la que se sintiera cómodo en cualquier lugar y con la que se compartiese intereses, manera de pensar, gustos, en general estilos de vida (*Cuzco después del amor* 241).

But just as Martín embodies the hegemonic discourses present in the coloniality of power, he is also a victim. He is at once *cholo* and *cholifier*, and he merely repeats those discourses that were enacted upon him. In the last lines of the novel we see Martín in a

mental hospital. "Habla de todo, de su pasión por el Cuzco y La Compañía, de su novia alemana que se ha comunicado con él y pronto lo visitará, de los cuadros que los pacientes del manicomio pintan bajo su dirección, pero muda de semblante si alguien le toca el tema de Cleo" (*Cuzco después del amor* 284-285). He has been able to manipulate the legal system so that his version of the events leading up to Cleo's death seem "insane," but he, and we as readers, know that he still upholds such a perspective in a sane state. In a hegemonic discourse like his, it is impossible that Cleo's memory or voice appears. For this reason he remains silent and becomes visibly upset when someone brings up his ex-lover who was representative of a contemporary Andean identity from within.

Cuzco después del amor is illustrative of a modernity that assumes that history is linear and homogenous, where the past and the future cannot exist together in the present. Javier Sanjinés proposes a different take on modernity, explaining that we must interpret the temporalization of history taking into account the perspective of the Other (Sanjinés 25). For him, there is a discrepancy between the historic time of the dominant culture and that of the dominated (Sanjinés 27). In fact, it is language itself that subverts the model of modernization (Sanjinés 36): oppressed populations are agents of what Sanjinés calls a catachrestic representation of reality because they rename their reality, appropriating and rearticulating constructions of nationality (Sanjinés 8), and in doing so, they subvert the same model of control created by the well-measured and administrated social metaphor (Sanjinés 87). Arguedas's *Los zorros* is, in a sense, a catachresis of the novel itself, a genre linked to the historical time of modernity and related to the construction of the nation (Sanjinés 24), through the lens of the Andean cosmovision. *Cuzco después del amor*, on the other hand, maintains the separation of the future and the past in the present. Degregori's Cusco only allows the past to be part of the present as

long as it maintains its pertinence to the past. Yet when future, progress and modernity dare to literally build upon the past, this action is viewed as a misinterpreted push toward modernity that breaks the aesthetic harmony of the city ("Entrevista" 64).

While the popularity of Degregori's works in national markets seems to allude to a trend of the rearticulation of hegemonic discourses in Andean provinces, the only phenomenon said popularity underscores is the tendency of national markets to value literature that keeps in line with its own discourses. In this book I argue that there are trends in Andean literature that act separately from normative definitions. Accordingly, before we continue, it is necessary to define Andean literature, both in terms of the perspective of this investigation and also in terms of those writers who self-identify as such. William Rowe considers Andean narrative after Arguedas to merely be a construction of literary criticism, not of the consciousness of the authors themselves. For him, Arguedas did not leave an open space for Andean literary production after his death in *Los zorros* (Rowe 221). Instead, Rowe holds that Andean writers have moved on to concern themselves with the social imaginary of the totality of Peru (221). He attributes this change to the violence of the 1980s and early 1990s:

> Las posibilidades de la 'novela andina' han sido modificadas por la época de la violencia: me refiero no sólo a la destrucción de pueblos y memorias sino a las migraciones masivas de la población. Digo, 'la novela andina', pero en verdad se trata de una entidad que no existe. Más que los escritores, son los críticos y los historiadores, sociólogos y etnógrafos quienes se han encargados de imaginarla. Es una entidad anhelada pero no existente (Rowe 221).

While Rowe is correct in his observation that violence and immigration have changed literary production, he looks at the Andean novel in its geographical terms and concludes that it no longer exists. However, Andean culture now is not subject to the geographical, linguistic or racial constraints of the past. As we will see, Andean narrative spans the country (and beyond), and it is produced by a variety of writers, some of which may be

considered Andean in the traditional sense, and many who would not. The violence of the 80s and 90s, the destruction of towns, and massive migration from the provinces to urban centers all play a part in this change. Yet to negate the existence of an Andean novel or contemporary Andean narrative would only further entrench its marginalization in dominant literary discourses.

While for Rowe, the Andean novel is a creation by literary critics, sociologists and ethnographers, Zein Zorrilla, who self-identifies as an Andean writer, sees it differently. For Zorrilla, the term Andean encompasses any and all cultural manifestations generated in the geographic space of the Andes (*Carretera* 182). The Andean novel, according to Zorrilla, was founded by Ciro Alegría and José María Arguedas. While he concedes that their novels were also *indigenista* novels, he distinguishes the *indigenismo* literary movement as a circumstantial and temporal characteristic of the Andean novel (*Carretera* 182). *Indigenismo*'s principal conflict was that of the possession of land, yet Zorrilla recognizes that because of the changes in the politics and economics of Peru, feudal-like *hacienda* owners no longer hold the power that they once did; subsequently the themes of the Andean novel have changed. In other words, Andean narrative is not synonymous with *indigenista* narrative. Issues in the contemporary Andean novel range from the devastation of the great feudal society of the recent past to migration, the loss of center, and the search for a new spiritual and societal order (*Carretera* 182).

For Zorrilla the term "Andean" encompasses any and all cultural manifestations generated in the geographical space of the Andes. This is a generous and broad understanding because it is not exclusive of ethnicities or social groups, though it does root the literary production to the "geographic space of the Andes." Additionally, it does not fully recognize the indigenous community for their participations in and contributions

to such cultural manifestations. Taking Zorrilla's definition into account, we must ask ourselves if an Andean Quechua author living in Paris who does not choose to write about the Andes would be considered Andean. Thus, risking a strategic reductivism necessary to make visible what remains invisible in Zorrilla's definition, I propose that Andean literature should be part of a decolonial enterprise. It should incorporate the Andean cosmovision, as a means of underlining the critical importance of originary cultures in defining the existential nature of Andean-ness to this day, for anyone living within its purview. Survivors of original indigenous cultures still populate the land despite the horrendous legacy of colonialism, the continuing effects of coloniality, and the rapid transformations taking place since the 1970s. These dramatic changes result in the transformation of the Andean cosmovision into a deterritorialized notion which can be invoked and articulated anywhere, in the suburbs of Lima or in Paris, because other than its intrinsic cultural richness and complexity, it will also imply the exteriority of *being* within the Eurocentric world, the Other of enjoying its privileges, its values, and its hegemonic comforts.

According to this definition of Andean literature, it becomes evident that Luis Nieto Degregori, while born in Cusco and writing about the city, is not an Andean writer because he embraces the cultural standpoint of urban elites and of the "official" discourse of the nation which holds that Andean peoples do not pertain to a modern Peru. Dante Castro, on the other hand, considers himself an Andean writer even though he is from Lima ("Interview"). His works reflect the Andean cosmovision on a much more profound level than Degregori's, as I will discuss in Chapter 1. Castro relates his identification with the Andean world view to Manuel Scorza's, and even connects Scorza to the trajectory of Andean narrative of which he considers himself to be part ("Interview"):

> Nadie le exigió a Scorza ser oriundo de la zona andina, ni quechua hablante, pero demostró veracidad citando a sus personajes vivos y por sus propios nombres como sujetos reales del conflicto social. Con un hábil manejo de la prosa y nuevos recursos narrativos revitaliza la tradición narrativa andina... Creo que la trágica muerte de Scorza en el accidente aéreo de Barajas nos privó de un buen inicio para la narrativa de la violencia, el cual se comprometió hacer ("Interview").

Neither Castro's nor Scorza's geographical origins are important. It is the language through which they are able to express the elements of the Andean cosmovision that truly defines them as Andean writers. As Zorrilla notes, this contemporary Andean narrative is not the same as that of the indigenismo of the past; the new narrative reflects contemporary culture in the Andes, not just the "traditional," "indigenous," or "archaic" elements (La novela andina 24). As an example of this point, the author tells of a conversation with a literary critic about his works:

> Otro crítico se extrañó de no ver mamachas ni papachas y encontrar más bien un montaje cinematográfico en *Carretera al purgatorio*. Ante mi insistencia de que ese era 'mi Ande' y esa era mi concepción de la novela, su respuesta fue 'Entonces pues, hermanito, no eres andino, eres cosmopolita.' Le agradecí su piadosa iluminación (*La novela andina* 24).

Andean writers, therefore, are writers who write *from* an Andean cosmovision; by imposing any other definition on their works, we do as the critic that Zorrilla refers to: we sever parts of their identity according to our own ideas of what "Andean" is or should be.

The investigation that follows is therefore an investigation into contemporary Andean narrative, according to the definition I have provided, specifically focusing on contemporary Cusqueñan narrative after the publication of Arguedas's last novel, *Los zorros*, in 1971. I chose Cusco for its centrality not only in Arguedas's works, but in the Andean cosmovision itself. Thus, while the present investigation is concerned with literature produced in the region of Cusco, conclusions about the nature of Cusqueñan narrative could largely be applied to the nature of Andean narrative in general. However,

at the same time, it is also important to note the heterogeneity of the Andes, and therefore of the specificities of its regional productions.

In the first chapter of this dissertation, I establish Arguedas's *Los zorros* as representative of a change in Andean literary expression. With this novel, Arguedas proves that it is possible to write from *within* a contemporary Andean world view, instead of *about* it, like previous *indigenista* writers. In order to achieve such a representation, the author fragments his linguistic expression, and that of the characters in the novel, to the point that language loses its signifying power. The characters communicate through the recognition of others' Andean identity, an identity that the mythical foxes of the title come to represent. Be that as it may, the fragmentation of language leaves the foxes without direction, lost and confused at the end of the novel. Arguedas implores his readers to let his death and the silence of language signify the end of a cycle in which the Andes and modernity are incompatible, and he urges them to begin a new cycle. The author may have broken apart the signifying force of language, and with it an Andean identity, but by leaving the foxes behind, he does so with the hope that those who follow will pick up the pieces, guided by the foxes, in order to create a contemporary Andean identity compatible with modernity.

I consider *Los zorros* to be a point of departure from which to analyze a transitional period in contemporary Andean literature that begins with the publication of Arguedas's last novel and continues on through the 1990s. In his last novel, Arguedas's foxes are left confused, running around aimlessly without the ability to communicate due to the author's intended fragmentation of language. This erratic chaos not only signals the beginning of the end of the traditional *gamonalista* world and the incoming globalization and armed conflict that will both displace Andean population across Peru and the globe, but it is also echoed in the narrative that follows throughout the Andes in

the form of a *wakcha* identity. According to Arguedas, the *wakcha* is someone who not only lacks a family, as its translation to the Spanish *huérfano* suggests; it is also someone who, because they lack a family and any material possessions such as land or animals, cannot participate in any exchange with the community. They remain on the margins of the society because of their lack of family and possessions, and it is because of this marginality, not solely because they are orphans, that they are considered to be nothing. Writers in the transition period take on the task of the creation of new Andean identities, using the foxes, or Andean traditions and world view, as guides, but they find themselves and their characters in a constant *wakcha* state, without the ability to participate in the community because the community itself has not been fully formed. In fact, my intentions of focusing specifically on Cusqueñan literary production after *Los zorros* are thwarted, precisely because of the *wakcha* nature of the Andean community reflected in literature of this transition period.

Of the three authors' works I analyze in the first chapter, only one, Enrique Rosas Paravicino, is from Cusco. The other two authors, Dante Castro and Zein Zorilla, embody the fundamental aspects of the transition period, and thus the *wakcha* identity. Their disperse origins serve as an example of this migratory homelessness. In Rosas Paravicino's collection of short stories, *Al filo del rayo* (1988), the dialogue between characters subverts the dominant cultural discourse and the genre of the short story itself. He employs the idea of the *wakcha* in different manners, in one story as a newborn representative of the pluricultural present of the Peruvian nation that still maintains ties to the Andean past, in another story as the *wakcha* that splits from the past producing a void in the present, and finally as a central point of the ideology of the Sendero Luminoso only in that the Andean cosmovision is the overarching conception of the Senderista culture precisely because it is Andean, and not vice versa. In his stories Rosas Paravicino

demonstrates that history may carry the violence of the past into the present, but that such violence is unable to destroy the realization of Andean cultural practices. The characters of the stories consciously take on a marginal perspective in relationship to national discourses in order to reconstruct the fragments of such an identity.

Dante Castro's works also fit into the transition period of contemporary Andean narrative after Arguedas's death. Even though the author is from El Callao, Lima, the stories in his collection *Tierra de pishtacos* (1992) embody the transitionary state of the *wakcha* identity. The characters in Castro's stories enunciate from a non-place from which they are able to reveal the inner workings of modern society, and the author underlines the folkloric and subversive origins of Andean discourses, especially in the subversion of the official written account of the massacre in Uchurracay, which casts blame on the inhabitants of the town citing their superstitious belief in *pishtacos* as the reason behind their violent acts. Castro, on the other hand, utilizes the *pishtaco* as an archetype of the Andean identity that the community negotiates in a contemporary context. In the same light, Castro's *wakcha* appears within the circumstances of the violence of the internal war and comes to represent true leadership and education precisely because of his *cholo* identity.

According to Gonzalo Portocarrero, the *nacaq* or *pishtaco* is an evil spirit from the Andean nether world that attacks lone figures on the mountainous roadside, throws magic powder in their face, and then proceeds to suck their body fat out through the anus, or simply rips them apart (Portocarrero 48-49). This evil being almost invariably extracts fat from bodies in order to sell it to pharmacies where it is used in medicines, or to people who use it to grease machines, cast church bells, or shine the faces of the statues of saints (Williams "Death" 274). However, the characteristic that is most pertinent to this study is the fact that the *nacaq* or *pishtaco* is nearly always said to be white or *mestizo*. It is

then symbolically, the image of modernity nourishing itself with the bodies of Indians ("Death" 274). The idea of a modernized Western economy that feeds on the labor and lives of those it oppresses crosses geographical boundaries and emerges as one of many counter-discursive voices to the "official" discourse on modernity. In fact, many authors of the time period incorporate the *wakcha* and *pishtaco* identities into contemporary Andean literary expressions. The *pishtaco* is related to the *wakcha* in the sense that it describes someone who does not belong to the community, and someone who reveals the structure of the community or nation from its margins. Andean authors in the 80s and 90s used figures such as the *wakcha* and the *pishtaco* to react to national political changes and crises through the lens of the Andean cosmovision.

Gareth Williams explains that a subaltern knowledge or perspective on history, like that of the *pishtaco*, created a threat to the governability of the neoliberal state. According to Williams, it serves the state to mark indigenous people and *indigenismo* as archaic and incomprehensible, therefore rendering such people or such discourses as "outsiders," or literally, as not pertaining to the state, because neoliberalism draws on a logic that does not recognize other historical perspectives and eradicates those who are a threat. Subaltern knowledge practices its agency by creating other ways of dealing with and representing the neoliberal state, strategies that allow the Others of the state to reelaborate their own identity and relationship to the state through their own cultural codes. In other words, Andean people create the idea of the *pishtaco* to account for through their own perspective how, as Williams explains, the Indian body is historically construed as a central and active site for the appropriation and expansion of white colonial power ("Death" 276).

The last work I analyze in the first chapter is Zein Zorrilla's *Carretera al purgatorio* (2003). Zorrilla's novel serves as a turning point from the chaotic

fragmentation of the transition period between *Los zorros* and the contemporary Andean narrative of the most recent decade that picks up the fragments of language left by Arguedas in order to resignify Andean cultural codes in a contemporary light. Ciro, the main character of the novel, does not realize his *wakcha* state until a *huayco*, or avalanche, pauses time and forces him to recreate the past that he took for granted. Here, the *wakcha* is the technology that subverts the discourse of modernity, which only allows either a traditional perspective, meaning one that only incorporates the past into the present, or a revolutionary perspective, which only allows the future to be a part of the present. Zorrilla's *wakcha* digresses from this modern discourse as he makes both the past and the future viable in the present, precisely because of his perspective through the Andean cosmovision. Just like Ciro, the writers of the transition period struggle to pull Andean identity out of the nostalgic past and into the present, making a way for its future.

In the second chapter, I argue that the act of reading and the institution of literature itself are border operations. For Gabriele Schwab, this border operation is similar to a mirror that allows us to see ourselves from the outside, as both Self and Other (ix). Language makes up this mirror, and through language, the relationships and structure of society are revealed (Schwab x). Schwab's concept becomes especially pertinent in the analysis of how Cusqueñan literature written in the most recent decade utilizes, reinterprets and reappropriates Andean language, time, space and culture as a commodity. As we see in the transition period, Cusqueñan literature is still usually seen in the light of its Limeño contemporaries even though Arguedas's *Los zorros* proves that a binary definition of Peru as Andean/*criollo*, highland/coastal, oral/written or Spanish/Quechua is no longer valid. Therefore, in the second chapter, I propose that instead of dividing literature into Quechua versus Spanish or any other exclusionary

binary opposition, we should analyze literary expression within the context of its production.

I look at two writers who embody the liminality of the city in which they live. The first, Braulio Mirano, consciously works on reappropriating space, language and literature through his literary and other cultural projects. Of Mirano's three works I analyze in this chapter, only the first, *Chicha: Brío de las canteras* (2009), a collection of essays on *chicha*, a traditionally Andean corn beer usually drank in *chicherías*, has been published. In these essays, Mirano reappropriates the space of the *chichería* into a contemporary Andean context and establishes *chicha* itself as the unifying element that brings cultures, race, nature, humankind and divine beings together. Because the act of drinking *chicha* inverts the rules of the daily world, the unity that it creates is maintained separate from the homogenizing discourses of the State, thus allowing *chicha* to change national discourses from it margins. In other words, *chicha* represents a supplementary space, or a renegotiation of such discourses. For example, Mirano uses the elements of *chicha* to demonstrate that the ideal race is not a *criollo*, but a *chicha* identity because it represents unity and a mixture of races while still maintaining positive aspects of the indigenous identity. The *cholo* or *chicha* identity is established as an ideal creation of the family unit, unifying Peruvians through what was once a destructive, negative connotation linked to coloniality.

In the unpublished essay "El lenguaje del maíz," Mirano not only reappropriates language but theorizes the change, proposing that by resolving and creating doubts about Andean cultural practices, he is able to resist the creation of dogmas or absolute truths. Here, corn and life present themselves as inseparable. Corn represents the plurality of the nation and takes a strategic role in communication, allowing us to know the Other as well as the Self through the inebriating powers of *chicha*. While Mirano acknowledges that

language must be recognized by those who have the power to legitimize it, he also acknowledges corn's communicative powers as the linguistic link to recognition. Finally, in his last unpublished and incomplete essay, "Fundamentación, catálogo," the author resignifies the *Comentarios reales* written by the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega to fit into a contemporary Andean cosmovision, specifically re-reading them as supporting his and his collective's cultural project.

Jorge Vargas Prado's novel *Antes que las primeras veces se terminen* (2009) also deals with temporal, spatial and linguistic reappropriations. The novel links orality, technology, Quechua, Spanish, news media and pop culture, underlining the idea that Peruvian identity is not always what it seems, and seeking to answer the question of what Peruvian really looks like. The three main characters, for Vargas, are emblematic of the elements that make up contemporary Andean culture in their unity, because separately they are only facets of modern and Andean identities, and because each character makes a conscious and intellectual decision to turn to the Andean perspective of the world. In the novel, time is linked to recognition, which in turn is the principal quality of existence, so Vargas must subvert hegemonic versions of time and create characters that can traverse the borders of language, like Arguedas's foxes.

Likewise, in Vargas's collection of short stories titled *Kunan pop* (2010), referring to the Quechua concept of today or now and linking it to popular culture, we see a continued rearticulation of time, space and language, centered on the idea of existence through recognition. In the story "Kunan Cristo," the author uses Christ as a symbol of the principle that "todos somos cholos," to reappropriate the oppressive Catholic ideology imposed on the Andes during the Conquest. In this collection, Vargas proposes that we move on from the past and create a contemporary Andean society that has learned from the past yet uses the present, the *kunan*, to construct notions of identity.

In the third and final chapter I look at feminine Cusqueñan narrative, which proves to be marginal even within the discourses of Andean literary expression because of the authors' position as both Andean and as women. Clorinda Matto de Turner's works are the first recognized examples of the trend of female Cusqueñan writers who manage their doubly marginal identities through inserting themselves within official literary paradigms in order to subvert them or to create new concepts of their identity from within. However, Matto de Turner's last work, *Viaje de recreo*, published posthumously in 1909, was followed by a profound silence in feminine Cusqueñan narrative that would not be broken until the 1950s with the works of Genara Elorrieta and Clorinda Caller Ibérico. Their novels received much less critical attention, and they were followed, once again, by a void in feminine literary production until 2005, when contemporary writers like Areli Aráoz, Karina Pacheco, Nataly Villena Vega and Linda África Gutiérrez exploded onto the scene. I utilize the long silences between the publication of these works as a starting point to analyze feminine Cusqueñan narrative, and I find that we must reconsider the terminology used in literary criticism to designate literary expression. In order to "hear" through the silences, we must consider alternative literary expressions like oral traditions, *testimonios*, and news media side by side with traditional literary production.

All of the works I analyze in this chapter, from those written by Matto de Turner to the present, are driven by both creative necessity and the need for social change, and just as in masculine Cusqueñan narrative, a regional identity stemming from a diasporic, immigrant border thinking is the overarching theme. Yet women utilize different tools to establish their identity, distancing themselves geographically through their literature yet also still occupying the domestic spaces of the home as a traditionally feminine space in order to insert themselves in conventionally masculine spaces, like that of literature. In

other words, they take on the conditions of pertinence to such spaces yet maintain a distinct feminine perspective, thinking from the borders, which allows them to transition between identitary spaces, thereby modifying such spaces as they occupy them, and overcoming the silences within them.

In fact, the theme of silence has been a unifying element of feminine Cusqueñan narrative since Matto de Turner, who defies a silence imposed on women and indigenous populations through a double perspective from within and outside of official discourses. Genara Elorrieta's silences appear in the form of indigenous populations that she considers should be recognized in their role toward the progress and modernity of the nation, and Caller Ibérico's shockingly violent novel calls for change in the economically driven abuse of indigenous populations through her employment of strong female characters.

However, for these three women who write in the first half of the century, the changes produced by Velasco's agrarian reform and the exclusion of marginal groups in its aftermath push the steps toward feminine Cusqueñan literary production's insertion into mainstream literature back into the silence. The hopes of the agrarian reform and its subsequent re-marginalization of minority discourses on a national level were transformed into violent responses from the margins, and its most violent manifestation, the Sendero Luminoso, destroyed the country and Andean constructions of identity. From the 1970s to 2005, the only literary publications by Cusqueñan women come from the field of ethnology. The contributions of women like Carmen Taripha and Carmen Escalante Gutiérrez are proof of the continued production of feminine narrative during the time.

It is not until 2005 when women begin to publish these cultural expressions in the form of literature once again; they too recognize the strength of the silence. Areli Aráoz,

in her novel *Después del silencio* (2006) utilizes journalism as a means to denaturalize the notion of a hegemonic "official story" to introduce the voices left out through the coloniality of power, but her characters are held captive by the social implications of their gender until the last moments of the novel. Karina Pacheco publishes a number of novels and short stories during this time period, focusing on various elements such as voids in the past that can only be filled by growth in the present, the need to constantly renew our definitions of happiness and identity in the face of stagnation, and returning to the past through domestic spaces in order for her characters to reconstruct their fragmented identities and to break the silence of the oppressive violence of the past. Nataly Villena Vega's novel *Azul* (2005) and short story "Al frente" (2008) provide a global vision of Andean feminine identity that portrays the struggles to fit into previously established identitary categories and the subsequent chaos of a lack of referent. She, like Pacheco, also depicts women who move forward into the future in spite of the pain of the past and the fragmentation of the present. Finally, the most recent works are two short stories by Linda África Gutiérrez, who breaks through the chaos and silence of the present through the act of writing, which she proposes that we must continue to do through our adherence to a contemporary Andean cosmovision.

In the third chapter and throughout the entire investigation, I too wish to do as the writers I analyze. I hope to challenge Lima- and canonic-centered discursive frameworks in regards to literature and cultural production as a whole into a deep questioning of themselves so that literary production, like that produced in the Andes, is no longer subject to enunciate into silence and from the margins.

Chapter 1 Literary *Wakchas*: The Transition from Arguedas's *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* to Contemporary Andean Literary Production

INTRODUCTION

The work of anthropologist, ethnologist and writer José María Arguedas (1911-1969) is critical to the history of Peru, not only because his life spans some of the most important socio-cultural developments in the country and likewise in Latin America, but also because it echoes the trajectory of such developments, influencing, molding and provoking changes in the cultural and political makeup of the country. Many scholars have analyzed the relationship between his work and its historical, social and cultural context, yet few studies analyze the extension of his influence on contemporary Andean society after his death in 1969.[10] My goal is to do exactly that through a literary perspective; I consider Arguedas's *Los zorros* to be representative of an important change in the perspective of Andean literature. Beginning with this novel, Andean literary production writes from *within* a contemporary Andean world view instead of *about* it, and writers utilize inherently Andean concepts to create new facets of a contemporary Andean identity. In this chapter, I use *Los zorros* as a point of departure in order to analyze what I consider a transitional period in contemporary Andean literature that begins after the publication of Arguedas's posthumous novel and continues throughout the 1990s, proposing that the fragmentation of language from *Los zorros* repeats itself in the inherently Andean form of a *wakcha*, or orphan, identity.

While I consider the trajectory of contemporary Andean identities produced and reflected through literature to be characteristic throughout the Peruvian Andes, it is

[10] For further readings on the relationship between Arguedas's work and its historical, social and cultural context see Lienhard's *La voz y su huella* (1990), Lambright's *Creating the Hybrid Intellectual* (2008), or Cornejo Polar's *Escribir en el aire* (1994).

crucial to note the identitary heterogeneity within the Peruvian Andes and even within specific regions. I have chosen to focus my investigation on literary production from the region of Cusco, not only because of its geographic, social and cultural centrality from the pre-Colonial period until today, but also because of the importance that Arguedas himself places on the region in his works. For Arguedas, Cusco represents the fundamental nature of his marginality within the *criollo* and Andean cultures, his self-recognition of a border figure who occupies the in-between spaces of his community with the ability to traverse the boundaries set up by society yet never truly belong.

However, my intentions to focus specifically on Cusqueñan literary production after *Los zorros* are circumvented by the fragmented *wakcha* nature of the literature itself. Migration becomes one of the most prominent causes and effects of the homelessness of the Andean orphan, which in turn displaces regional identities and relocates them throughout the country.[11] Thus, in this chapter, I analyze the work of three authors in relation to Arguedas's *Los zorros*: the first, Enrique Rosas Paravicino (1948) is from Cusco and represents a contemporary Cusqueñan identity. The following two authors, Dante Castro (1959) and Zein Zorrilla (1953), are from Lima and Huancavelica respectively. Yet all three deal with the fragmentation and homelessness of Andean identities of the time period. Thus, while Castro and Zorrilla are not directly related to Cusqueñan literature, their works represent the *wakcha* identity that I find inherently characteristic of this transition period.

Throughout this chapter we will note how the authors of the transition period recover the fragments of the past, of an Andean identity cast out of history and therefore

[11] The figure of the *wakcha* can already be observed in the early literary production and ethnographic work of Arguedas, such as in *Canto kechwa* (1933) or later in many of his stories through the figure of the *pongo*, as depicted in *Los ríos profundos* (1958) or short stories such as "El sueño del pongo." (1965) Even though the *wakcha* is present in all of these works, in Arguedas's last novel it is much more salient and it leads to fragmentary aesthetics.

not permitted to form part of a national discourse founded on modernity and progress, in order to create new identities that are inherently Andean yet also contemporary in that they form part of national discourses on identity. After the transition period, as we will see in the following chapters, literary production in Cusco takes on the task that Arguedas leaves up to his readers at the end of *Los zorros*. If we consider Cusco to be representative of a heterogenic Andean identity, we are able to understand the importance of a novel like *Los zorros* in the trajectory of contemporary local literary production.

As mentioned previously, many scholars have analyzed the relationship between Arguedas's literary work and the reality around him in studies that rightly underline the importance that the author has had on society and vice versa. As Andean society changes within national and international contexts, so does the author's vision and portrayal of Andean society. He begins his literary production with novels such as *Yawar fiesta* (1941) and *Diamantes y pedernales* (1954), which are set in small Andean towns where the characters interact among themselves and the *mistis*, or mestizos who also make up part of the community.[12] As immigration from the *sierra* to the coast, among other factors, opens up the perspective with which the country views Andean society, thus opens up Arguedas´s literary perspective. An example of this change is the publication of *Todas las sangres* (1964), a novel that considers the effects of coastal migration on

[12] Previous to *Yawar fiesta* Arguedas published a collection of short stories in 1935 and titled *Agua; Los escoleros; Warma Kuyay*, and between *Yawar fiesta* and *Diamantes y pedernales* the short story "La muerte de los hermanos Arango" (1953). After these early works, Arguedas publishes his well known novel *Los ríos profundos* (1958), followed by *El sexto* (1961) and a short story titled "La agonía de Rasu Ñiti" (1962). His perspective opens up to include national themes in *Todas las sangres* (1964), a novel followed by the publication of the short story "El sueño del pongo" (1965) and a collection of short stories *Amor mundo y todos los cuentos* (1967). After his death in 1969, both *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* (1971) and a selection of short stories *Cuentos olvidados* (1973) were published. The author also boasts extensive poetic production represented by collections such as *Túpac Amaru Kamaq taytanchisman. Haylli-taki. A nuestro padre creador Túpac Amaru* (1962) and his most famous collection which was also published posthumously, *Katatay y otros poemas. Huc jayllikunapas* (1972).

Andean communities and even commences to contemplate the consequences of international economic policies.

In the following years, the situation in the country becomes more complex due to further internal migration, extended international economic policies, and intervention from the United States to the point where the Andean cultural practices once considered removed and archaic in comparison to the national discourses threatened to disappear into the grander project of modernity and progress of the nation. It is in this context that Arguedas writes his last novel, *Los zorros*, articulating his fears and subverting literary, and specifically, novelistic discourse through an Andean perspective, proving that the Andean culture in jeopardy of dissolution was not only alive in the depths of the national culture, but that it was prepared to establish itself in the context of "modernity," leaving behind the archaic and traditional connotations that was created for it by proponents of traditional *indigenista* narratives. He uses mythology, specifically the myth of the fox from above and the fox from below, to carry Andean cultural practices into the present, giving them a future in the composition of a contemporary Andean discourse.

Yet Arguedas recognizes that the extent of his authorial creative power ends with *Los zorros*. He ends his last novel with the declaration that he is terminating a literary cycle, leaving an open space for those writers who follow him, not only to begin a new cycle of literary production, but to complete the reality that will follow after his death. He allows the foxes, the representatives of the contemporary Andean identity, to survive the novel, even after he dies, knowing that they will become a part of the identity that later Andean writers will create. Writers after Arguedas do in fact echo the trajectory of the foxes in *Los zorros*. They succeed in formulating new cultural practices through literature that draw from elements considered to be archaic or no longer pertinent to a modern progressive Peru.

Nevertheless, before they do so, post-Arguedas writers must pass through a chaotic transition, just as Arguedas's foxes do, where humanity loses sight of their connection to its origins, unable to reconcile modernity with a contemporary identity. This transitional state begins with Arguedas's death and the subsequent posthumous publication of *Los zorros,* which leaves a space in literary production to be filled by those who follow. Yet, Arguedas himself cannot answer the question of how such a space should be filled. This identitary instability, coupled with the economic crisis that the country would endure through the next decade after Velasco's agrarian reforms, the focus on international commerce and the subsequent waves of migration, came to a head during the internal war between the Sendero Luminoso terrorist group and the Peruvian government that would last through the first years of the 1990s. The creation of the Shining Path was a violent effect of the marginalization of voices in national discourses; the group's quest for recognition through destruction and reconstruction reverberated throughout the country, and, in the context of literary production, it made the construction of a contemporary Andean identity through literature quite complex.

For writers in this time period, though, the Andean cosmovision is not erased. In fact, writers after Arguedas begin to take on elements of the Andean past in order to describe and represent their present reality. The most outstanding example of this transformation is the *wakcha* identity that resounds through literary production in this time period. Andean writers, alongside the characters in their works, struggle to pick up the pieces of a no longer pertinent past identity and assemble them to form a concept of self that makes sense in the present. Because they cannot identify with the past as it was, both the characters and the writers themselves effectively lose their origins; the society that was once the source of such identitary origins does not exist as it used to. They are *wakchas* without a community; however, they still have "the foxes," and they begin to

utilize the fragments that their mythological origins provide them with to emerge from their state of orphanhood with a newly created Andean identity, an action that is reflected in their use of orality and dialogic approaches in order to transform and destabilize hegemonic discourses that have effectively cast the Andean identity to its margins.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE FOXES

The posthumous publication of José María Arguedas's *Los zorros* marks a decisive moment in Peruvian literary production. Arguedas places language and communication as the protagonists of a novel set in the coastal town of Chimbote, the hub of the booming fishmeal industry that attracted migrants from all over the Andes. For many, his representation of language's decreasing ability to signify and his subsequent suicide are conceived as symptoms of the end of Andean literary production.[13] In a sense, this is exactly the case: Arguedas acknowledges that with him, one cycle of Andean literary production closes as a symptom of a similar movement in Peruvian society and culture. Yet in the novel he also underlines the fact that with the termination of that cycle, another one is opened:

> …Quizá conmigo empieza a cerrarse un ciclo y a abrirse otro en el Perú y lo que él representa: se cierra el de la calandria consoladora, del azote, del arrieraje, del odio impotente, de los fúnebres "alzamientos", del temor a Dios y el predominio de ese Dios y sus protegidos, sus fabricantes; se abre el de la luz y de la fuerza liberadora invencible del hombre de Vietnam, el de la calandria de fuego, el del dios liberador. *Aquel que se reintegra.* (*El zorro* 198, my emphasis)

Los zorros is not the tragic end of Andean literary production, nor is it the end of Andean cultural practices within the scope of national discourses. Instead Arguedas leaves an open space for Andean culture to move forward, reintegrating the old identities with the

[13] See Vargas Llosa, *La utopía arcaica*, p. 335

new, dismantling language by revealing that the link between writing and national social organization is a failure (Williams "Chimbote" 9). While Mario Vargas Llosa considers the characters' speech as the greatest failure of the novel (324), Gareth Williams points out that subaltern language, like that of *Los zorros*, calls attention to the limits of the abilities of the powers that regulate the minds and the bodies of social life from the interior of its production and universalization of customs, habits and productive practices in Chimbote ("Chimbote" 16). Arguedas's representation of language's failure to signify does not shut down Andean literary expression in favor of national or globalized literary expression that erases dissenting cultural difference; on the contrary, it allows Arguedas to show the limits of bio-politics and the social and cultural hegemonies of capitalism ("Chimbote" 24) in order to create a new space separate from the latter in which identity can be created through literature and also through other cultural and discursive practices.

The author alludes to his project of language in the speech that he purposely asked to be published at the beginning of *Los zorros* titled "No soy un aculturado…" He clarifies that his artistic project was not to universalize and meld the nations of the conquerors and the conquered, but to reinforce the pluralized identity that he considered the definition of "Peruvian (*El zorro* 13-14)." In his own, now famous words,

> Yo no soy un aculturado; yo soy un peruano que orgullosamente, como un demonio feliz habla en cristiano y en indio, en español y en quechua. *Deseaba convertir esa realidad en lenguaje artístico* y tal parece, según cierto consenso más o menos general, que lo he conseguido (*El zorro* 14, my emphasis).

Arguedas sets language as the protagonist of *Los zorros* with good reason. He recognizes that through urban migration and the application of capitalist economic policies that focus on markets and international trade, communication loses efficacy because language's

signifying power has deteriorated.[14] Language is the root of Arguedas's identitary representations, and the link between language and life becomes quite evident, even in the first pages of the "Primer diario" of *Los zorros*: "Escribo estas páginas porque se me ha dicho hasta la saciedad que si logro escribir recuperaré la sanidad" (*El zorro* 17). The writer sees language as his lifeline, and his internal struggle mirrors that of language in modern Peru. In *Los zorros,* Andean migrants in Chimbote struggle to understand each other. Even when they have long conversations about a specific topic, the conversation never really has to do with what is actually being said. The significance underlying the actual words is what truly produces communication when language fails to do so, and as we will see in the following pages, Arguedas links communication to recognition of an Andean identity compatible with a national (or global) project of modernity and progress.

The Chimbote of *Los zorros* is far from a heterogeneous utopia of language. It is a chaotic conglomerate of identities and language, an anti-Babel (Legrás 233), where the meaning behind language has failed, yet everyone seems to understand each other, where individuals represent a collective voice without being conscious of their collectivity. The language of the port town is embodied in the pink smoke emanating from the fish meal factory. Don Diego takes note of the underlying meaning behind language when he notes,

> Ese humo parece la lengua del puerto, *su verdadera lengua*… tiene y no tiene luz, tiene y no tiene bordes, no se apaga jamás. Se levanta de esas galerías largas, de todo ese laberinto de torres, minerales, sudores y luz eléctrica, de las tripas más escondidas de tanta maquinaria; le cuesta levantarse pero parece que nadie, ni las manos de los dioses que existen y no existen podrían atajarlo. (*El zorro* 97, my emphasis)

[14] It is important to note that Arguedas, befote *Los zorros*, supported the ideology of *mestizaje* as a way to construct a national identity, as can be seen in his translations of Quechua phrases and songs to Spanish in his previous novels. This reflection of *mestizaje* changed later in *Los zorros* as he began to represent the characters' speeches in Spanish with interferences in Quechua.

The pink smoke rises above the port, disseminating throughout the sky over Chimbote without class or racial distinction. Its technological and modern origins are a testament to its pertinence in contemporary society, and, as Don Diego reinforces, it may be costly and difficult for it to rise, but now that it has risen, nobody can restrain it and it cannot be put out. Even the narrator's voice connotes a collective representation (Lienhard "Cultura popular" 36) reminiscent of the double-significance of the Quechua "we." While the term is translated into Spanish as the single term *nosotros*, Quechua language distinguishes the inclusive *ñoqayku* from the exclusive *ñoqanchis*. The author of *Los zorros* toys with the translation of this concept from a Quechua world view to the Spanish that we as readers are presented.

His diaries oscillate between inclusion and exclusion, highlighting the differences between the Andean region and the Peruvian modern nation, yet also making evident the ability to traverse the borders between the two world views without losing the crucial components of either. In the first pages of the "Primer diario," Arguedas introduces his authors to the foxes who give his novel its title. The foxes, for the author, are the representation of the Andean worldview that survives in the new cycle. As Arguedas writes, he is conscious of the force that the foxes hold on his own narrative, explaining, "Yo no voy a sobrevivir el libro" (*El zorro* 202). The book becomes the foxes' book, and like the rest of humanity, who is represented by the population of Chimbote in the novel, Arguedas is no longer able to communicate through language (in this case literary language), because it has lost the power to signify. Mythology, as most readily represented by the foxes, becomes the means of survival in the wake of the loss of language. Lienhard underscores this correlation by explaining that *Los zorros* reveals the structure of modern Peru as incomprehensible without the significant contribution of the elements of the ancient culture ("Cultura popular" 89) He suggests that it is not a

nostalgic and reactionary return to ancient roots, but a project that assumes all of the authentic values of the past in order to construct a future that excludes exploitation of dominated cultures but includes modernity and its machines ("Cultura popular" 135). Sanjinés accounts for this non-linear and non-homogenous version of history when he explains that while modernity's two versions of time, tradition and revolution, do not allow for the past and the future to exist in the present together, those who are on the peripheries of modernity conceive time as such. He explains, "¿Por qué el pasado más arcaico invade la modernidad? Simplemente porque *lo arcaico no es lo caído en desuso, sino lo más profundo*" (Sanjinés 191). In other words, the mythology of the Andean past was always part of the present and future; it was the lens of modernity that did not allow us to see such a history.

The central scene of the novel, the encounter between Don Ángel Rincón Jaramillo, the manager of Braschi's fishmeal factory Nautilus Fishing who embodies the the technological and economic developments of the Western world in his position as manager of the largest producer in the foremost industry in the development of international trade, the fish meal industry, and Don Diego, the personification of the fox from below whose origins lie in the Andean cosmovision, mirrors the failure of language in the face of modernity and the subsequent reconstruction of communication and Andean identity by way of expressions inherent to the Andean cosmovision. From the moment that Don Diego enters the office the narrative voice notes his curious appearance and demeanor, alerting the reader to his true identity as the fox from below, and to the presence of the mythical past in modern present, which is represented quite literally as the central office of the country's most lucrative trade of the time, the fishmeal industry: "Don Ángel… vio aparecer en la puerta de su oficina a un caballero delgado, de bigotes largos y ralos, cuyos pelos muy separados se estiraban uno a uno, casi horizontalmente,

hasta despertar una curiosidad irresistible y risueña" (*El zorro* 75). Don Diego poses as a messenger of Braschi's, but his true goal is to understand the inside workings and the corruption in the company in an effort to make himself and the Andean past that he represents relevant in the modern nation. As Lienhard discerns, the unionists are not able to defeat Braschi and Don Ángel, but Don Diego does, and he does so through dance ("Cultura popular"137), an element inherent to Andean cultural identity. In other words, Don Diego as a representation of the Andean past subverts dominant culture by way of the dominated culture, just as Arguedas does with the novel itself in his use of the novelistic genre and Spanish as a dominant language to express an Andean world view (Lienhard "Cultura popular" 16). Zein Zorrilla too expresses the interconnectedness of musical and literary expression in his manifesto about the Andean novel:

> Hay un arte literario andino, al margen de los libros y los maestros, que se renueva de modo sorprendente a cada generación. Y curiosamente, este arte literario se expresa siempre en conjunción con la música. No me importa si eso es atraso o adelanto con respecto al desarrollo artístico de Occidente. El caso es que es así y estoy seguro que ese nexo, en nuestras latitudes, no desaparecerá. (*La novela andina* 6)

Music and literature go hand in hand to continuously produce Andean artistic expression that does not regard hegemonic expression or criticism as its measuring stick.

Don Diego and Don Ángel begin their conversation about Chimbote and the logistics of the Nautilus Fishing Company, but Don Diego quickly diverts the conversation, "Pero dicen, don Ángel, que aquí, en Chimbote, a todos se les borra la cara, se les asancocha la moral, se les mete en molde" (*El zorro* 77). This statement suggests that the inhabitants of Chimbote lose their identity and are pushed into a mold of modernity that does not allow for the ethical and moral sentiments of the past. Arguedas is perhaps suggesting that immigration to the coastal town erases the traits inherent to the Andean identity because of the hegemonically assumed incompatibility of the Andean

world view and Western modernity in the form of the town itself and the fish meal factory. However, in Don Ángel's response, the first instance that we see him let his guard down in front of Don Diego, the former responds, "Se han hecho moldes y todos han reventado. ¿Quién, carajo, mete en un molde a una lloqlla?" (*El zorro* 77) For Don Ángel, Chimbote is a *lloqlla*, or "una avalancha de agua, de tierra, raíces de árboles, perros muertos, de piedras que bajan bataneando debajo de la corriente cuando los ríos se cargan con las primeras lluvias en estas bestias montañas," (*El zorro* 77) as Don Diego describes. These introductory interchanges in the chapter are a metaphor for the subversive power of the Andean cosmovision within the modern project that Chimbote represents, both in a temporal manner, uniting the Andean identity traditionally considered part of the past with the present, and also in a spatial manner, breaking geographical and linguistics molds, crossing borders and defying previously established identitary claims. This is not to say that the Andean cosmovision is merely a chaotic conglomeration of non-sensical elements like the *lloqlla* that destabilizes hegemonic discourses through its non-logic. The *lloqlla* instead is a reflection of a discourse based on Andean cultural practices, and not the converse. The *lloqlla*, just like the *wakcha* or *chicha*, as we will see later, is a narrative tool used to metaphorically connect the Andean cosmovision through language for Arguedas's readers.

For Sanjinés, not only does the concept of the *lloqlla* as it appears in this dialogue emphasize the social development's necessity of the remote past as resource in the present (6), it also highlights the subversive nature of the catachrestic use of the term *lloqlla*. For Sanjinés, catachresis is not merely the misuse of a word but the necessary and urgent use of term for which there is no true translation (10); oppressed peoples use the strategy of catachresis in order to rename their reality and, in turn, appropriate and rearticulate constructions of nationality (10). Don Ángel's use of the catachrestic *lloqlla*

to describe Chimbote is a vital introduction to the chapter, because it suggests to the reader that even Don Ángel, the embodiment of modernity and progress, cannot conceive of a present or future Chimbote without its past because he too is Andean and a migrant. Language, then, becomes the technology through which the model of modernization is subverted from within itself, because, like Don Ángel, Arguedas's Andean peoples are both modern and Andean at the same time (Sanjinés 36); in *Los zorros* the two identities are no longer mutually exclusive.

As the chapter develops, language becomes less and less viable. Don Ángel and don Diego discuss the company, the market, and the state of the town of Chimbote; but, the two do not appear to be communicating at all, which leads to an absolute incomprehensibility of the scene.[15] Language, even language subverted through catachresis, fails. While scholars have noted this failure,[16] what is important is that which is left behind after the incomprehensible language: music and dance, and a buzzing fly. The fly materializes just as the discussion of the *lloqlla* ends. As don Ángel pauses to think, don Diego grabs the fly buzzing around the light of the lamp, bites it, and places its dying body on don Ángel's desk. Then he exclaims, "Y así, asicito como este bicho, los serranos de todos los pueblos de las montañas andinas, ¿no es cierto?, siguen bajando a buscar trabajo a Chimbote." (*El zorro* 77) While it may seem counter-logical for don Diego to kill or cause suffering to that which represents the Andean immigrants in Chimbote, Lienhard comprehends the significance of the scene, explaining that the fly represents the uneducated and illiterate masses ("Cultura popular" 112). Yet thanks to don Diego the fox, the fly is able to intervene indirectly in the process of narrative production ("Cultura popular" 112). The Quechua voice that is absent in Arguedas's last

[15] See Sara Castro Klarén, *El mundo mágico de José María Arguedas*, p. 201-202, or Antonio Urrello, *José María Arguedas: El nuevo rostro del indio*, p. 184.
[16] See Vargas Llosa, *La utopia arcaica* p. 324.

novel is actually present throughout the scene as the insect buzzes, still alive yet suffering, on don Ángel's desk. Even after the fly dies, his presence is overpowering. Don Ángel interrupts his discussion of the industry to exclaim to don Diego, "Y ese muerto, ese bicho, oiga usted, creo que está oliendo a chicha agria." (*El zorro* 79) The fly controls the entire scene without saying anything. It sits right in the middle of the room on the desk, buzzing as it dies and then smelling of *chicha*, the corn drink associated with the traditionally Andean space of the *chichería*, after its death, not allowing don Ángel to forget its presence, and doing so through the Andean world view. In fact, the very presence of don Diego makes the Andean world present, which is once again, like the *lloqlla*, represented metaphorically through the presence of the bitter small of *chicha* emanating from the dead fly.

Don Diego is able to destabilize the model of technology and modernity represented by don Ángel and brings forward the underlying elements of don Ángel's Andean-ness, even in the wake of the loss of significance of language, through one of the most important elements of Andean culture and identity, that is, through dance. Dancing subverts the narrative structures because it impedes any type of linear development or any fluidity of language (Lienhard "Cultura popular" 136). Don Ángel effectively becomes don Diego's puppet as the chapter progresses, coincidentally as don Diego's fox-like characteristics become more and more pronounced and as language loses its viability:

> El visitante alzó las manos como brazos de candelabro, y con la gorra ladeada, el rostro alargado en que los bigotes, negreando en las puntas, le afilaban más la cara, encandilándola, se puso a bailar dando vueltas en el mismo sitio, como si en las manos sostuviera algo invisible que zumbara con ritmo de melancolía y acero… Ritmo y baile le encendieron [a don Ángel] toda la memoria y el cuerpo… El jefe comenzó a mover la cabeza, con pesada gracia (*El zorro* 93).

The invisible force that don Ángel holds in his hands is the *lloqlla* of the contemporary Andean identity that defies spatial and temporal boundaries. Don Diego cheers don Ángel on as he starts to sing a song from his hometown of Cajabamba that he had long ago forgotten. As don Ángel sings and dances, nearing closer and closer to his underlying identity, don Diego's mythical origins as the fox from below become more apparent:

> Miró al visitante: su gorro se había convertido en lana de oro cuyos hilos se revolvían en el aire; los zapatos, en sandalias transparentes de color azul; la leva llena de espejos pequeños en forma de estrella… (*El zorro* 96)

Don Ángel corporally ritualizes his lost identity and remembers his past, incorporating it as part of his present. "Él, don Ángel, cajabambino de nacimiento e infancia, limeño habituado, recordó en ese instante que los picaflores verde tornasol danzaban sobre esas corolas, largo rato." (*El zorro* 96) The manager of the fish meal factory is transformed through music and dance by the strength of the *lloqlla* and the presence of don Diego.

The scene in the office ends and the two head towards the factory. During the short walk outside, don Diego notices the pink smoke emanating from the building. Throughout the novel, various townspeople of Chimbote mention the magical and mysterious qualities of the smoke. According to Lienhard, for the townspeople of Chimbote, the *humo rosado* is a contemporary *waka* that signifies hope ("Cultura popular" 148).[17] After don Ángel's performance, don Diego reiterates the former's realization of his new identity linked to the past in his relationship to the *waka*. The fox mentions to the factory manager, "¡Ese humo parece, sin embargo, como que saliera del pecho de usted, don Ángel! Del pecho de *todos nosotros*." (*El zorro* 98, my emphasis) This time don Ángel is included, and the reader is left to decide whether he includes

[17] Martin Lienhard defines *waka* as a series of sacred places, objects and beings that existed in pre-Inca and Inca times and in a lesser manner still exist today. They are defined by their exceptional size, deformation or particular beauty ("Cultura popular" 58).

himself in that construction. Lienhard perceives that the lack of conclusion of the novel demands that the reader take responsibility for its conclusion, not by way of finishing the writing of the novel, but by completing the history ("Cultura popular" 190). By leaving self-inclusion or -exclusion to the reader himself, even at this point half way through the novel, Lienhard argues that the author is urging his reading public to take history out of his hands and into their own ("Cultura popular" 190).

At the end of the chapter, as don Diego leaves don Ángel after touring the factory, the fox from below meets el Tarta, whose name comes from the Spanish *tartamudo*, meaning "stutterer," and the idea of the subversion of language and hegemonic cultural expressions comes full circle. Throughout the chapter, language reveals itself as increasingly insignificant and incapable of communication. Music and dance replace language's expression as representations of the Andean cosmovision that carry past identities into the present. El Tarta represents language's crisis in the Andean world view up until this point of the novel. However, when don Diego meets el Tarta, the subversion of the hegemonic discourse is realized: "—Tú, tú eres un 'zorro' –le dijo el Tarta sin atracarse--. ¿Vienes de arriba de los cerros o del fondo del Totoral de la Calzada? ¿O yo soy tú y por eso no tartamudeo?" (*El zorro* 109) El Tarta is the most extreme portrayal of the failure of language to communicate in Chimbote; although, when el Tarta meets the fox from below, his own expression of language is transformed and he is able to express himself without stuttering. His recognition of the fox is so complete that he wonders whether he himself is the fox, or whether the fox is him. Once again just as with don Ángel, the presence of don Diego provides El Tarta with the strength of the *lloqlla* and its power to transform. Verbal language and identification with the Other merge together for El Tarta's transformation at the close of the scene.

In *Literature and Subjection*, Legrás holds that in *Los zorros,* Arguedas is the first to effectively address the question of subjection, or becoming a subject, as the underlying grammar of literary representation (197). In other words, rather than assuming subjection to be an underlying component of literary expression, in *Los zorros* Arguedas demonstrates that recognition, and therefore, subjection, is not always already present, emphasizing the instituting and institutional nature of language, and explicitly refusing to validate the dominant culture's logic of recognition (198). He states:

> The more [Arguedas] strove to ground Chimbote in what was unique to it, the more he unearthed the abyss of the event of language, whose terrifying effect his work not only fails to appease but even conjures, more profoundly than the work of any other writer in modern Latin America. Arguedas's unique lot was to uncover this frightening power of the aesthetic in the dissolution of the historical project of Latin American literature, and no doubt beyond (Legrás 238).

For Legrás, Arguedas strips the aesthetic elements from literary discourse and from language itself, and in doing so highlights the interstices of language that fail to recognize marginal discourses and therefore inhibit communication. The fragmentation of language in *Los zorros* lies in this action. For Arguedas recognition means communication through language and literary discourse even in the overlaps and intersections of discourse that inherently cause communication to fail, which explains el Tarta's reaction when he recognizes don Diego as the fox from below. The Andean elements in *Los zorros* are so powerful that they represent the driving force behind this new recognition (Legrás 220). Hence, it only makes sense that the fox from below be the centrifugal force responsible for the new form of communication that el Tarta creates at the end of the chapter.

Legrás links recognition to language and the viability of communication, yet he also draws an important parallel between recognition and possessions. According to Legrás, recognition binds capital and culture through their common reference to property (22), as opposed to a perspective on recognition that adopts the idea of "natural rights,"

which implies that individuals preexist the society that creates them instead of vice versa (Legrás 20). The State provides recognition in exchange for recognition, and because literature and other cultural expressions are both instituting and institutions of the State, property links capital and culture through their common reference to property (22). While the link between capitalism and recognition is undeniable, I find the relationship between recognition and property to extend beyond the realm of capitalism. In Arguedas's definition of *wakcha* we find that recognition is linked to identity within Andean society, and the basis of such identification is property.[18] One without property may receive the pity or empathy of those who are part of Andean society, however, he is not considered part of Andean society because he cannot participate in the exchange of services that is considered a necessary part of the culture. Returning then, to the connection that Legrás makes between recognition, language and property, we can conclude that el Tarta is a *wakcha* on the margins of society who is able to pick up the language fragments of a no-longer pertinent Andean identity associated with the *indigenismo* literary tradition that (usually inintentionally) objectifies the Andes and its people to reconstruct an Andean based identity in a modern and progressive Peru through his recognition of the mythical fox associated with the Andean cosmovision, whose presence signifies subjectivity and agency for the Andean identity.

[18] "Dividen a la gente en dos categorías. La categoría de los que poseen bienes, ya sea en terrenos o animales, es gente, pero el que no tiene ni animales es huak'cho. La traducción que se le da a este término al castellano es huérfano. Es el término más próximo a la orfandad porque tiene una condición no solamente de pobreza sino que también indica un estado de ánimo, de soledad, de abandono, de no tener a quién acudir. Un huérfano, un huak'cho, es aquél que no tiene nada. Está sentimentalmente lleno de gran soledad y da gran compasión a los demás. Tampoco puede alternar con los que tienen bienes. Entonces no puede hacer trueques y está al margen de la gente que puede recibir protección a cambio de dar protección. Un huak'cho es en este sentido un sub-hombre, no está dentro de la categoría de los hombres que son tales." (324-325 of Baralt's *Para decir al Otro*, taken from the testimonio de Arguedas recorded by Sara Castro-Klarén. Published by Julio Ortega in *Texto, comunicación y cultura: "Los ríos profundos" de José María Arguedas* (1982: 106-107)).

While don Ángel's buried Andean identity and el Tarta's recognition of the fox from below may seem explainable due to their geographical Andean origins, Arguedas also presents his readers with Maxwell, the ex Peace Corps volunteer from the United States turned "Peruvian." The first time he enters the scene, we find Maxwell dancing with a prostitute named la China in a brothel:

> Maxwell daba saltos, caía sobre la punta de los pies; alzaba la China en el aire, la dejaba caer a un paso, la tomaba de la mano para hacerla girar, la volvía a dejar libre; la miraba; el ritmo de su cuerpo contagiaba hasta al arbolito del patio. *Como el agua que salta y corre*… atrae y ahuyenta a ciertos insectos voladores, así el cuerpo de Maxwell templaba el aire en el salón (*El zorro* 34, my emphasis).

Maxwell possesses a radial energy that could only be compared to that of don Diego. He is the central figure in the scene; all of the action revolves around him, and he controls la China and the others in the same puppet-like manner that don Diego controls don Ángel. The narrative voice also describes his body as the water that jumps and runs, channeled by its own velocity, through the steep and irregular slopes, changing in color and sound (*El zorro* 34). In other words, Arguedas links Maxwell's body to the rivers that flow through the Andes, not because of its geographical origins, but because of the fundamental qualities that he demonstrates as he dances.

Maxwell appears once again in the "Segunda parte" as he arrives at Father Cardozo's office with Cecilio Ramírez, the owner of the house where Maxwell lives. The ex-Peace Corps volunteer has come to discuss the possibility of the priest marrying him to Cecilio's daughter. The narrative voice recounts Maxwell's story of how he arrived in Peru and the time he spent in Paratía near Lake Titicaca. During his stay there, he learned to play the *charango*, although he could only sometimes play the Aymara and Quechua

rhythms that he had learned there, and he could not even sing very well (*El zorro* 160).[19] In a later fragment, in a conversation with Father Cardozo, he mentions his participation in the town's festivals:

> ¿Cuántas veces bailé, con las jóvenes y las casadas, en las fiestas y entre las risas con que, más que burlarse de mí me 'distinguían', me conferían distinción? Yo saltaba o me desplazaba, bien a ritmo, bastante bien a ritmo en las danzas, pero seguramente *como un animal extraño* (*El zorro* 177, my emphasis).

He arrives at his Andean identity, not through language (because he cannot sing the songs), but through playing music and dancing. However, it is not until he goes to Puno and participates in a festival there that the full extent of his Andean-ness is reached, albeit in a relatively "unnatural" way, like a strange animal. He tells the story of the dancing, singing and drinking. When he decides to enter into the dance he meets the fox from above, and although he does not realize who he is, he senses his exceptionality:

> Un joven de rostro alargado, de rarísimos bigotes ralos, me animó. Me habló en su lengua, sonriendo, abriendo la boca tan exageradamente que ese gesto le daba a su cara una expresión como de totalidad; le escuché, en la sangre y en la claridad de mi entendimiento (*El zorro* 178).

The strength of the *lloqlla* pushes Maxwell's body into motion because he listens to it and recognizes it in its own language, and thus understands its strength clearly, in his blood.

As he tells the story, he explains to Father Cardozo, the "gringo" priest with the "latino" last name, that he would not be able to understand. Father Cardozo questions Maxwells logic, "¿Por que no puedo?... Te oigo bien." (*El zorro* 178) The distinction that Maxwell makes between himself and Father Cardozo is based on the fact that Maxwell "learned to use words well" in Paratía. In other words, language determines the

[19] A *charango* is a stringed instrument played in the Altiplano region. It normally has five pairs of double strings, and it is associated with the rural regions of the Andes, although it is thought to be a descendant of the Spanish *vihuela*.

underlying characteristics of the Andean cosmovision that Maxwell has acquired and it also becomes the signifier for Father Cardozo's exclusion. In the last pages of the "Segunda parte," don Diego also arrives at Father Cardozo's office. When Maxwell mistakes him for the fox from above, the reader is able to pick up the fragments of the previous conversation about the festival in Paratía, concluding that Maxwell had encountered the fox from above in the festival:

> No, no era el amigo de gruesos bigotes y cara alargada que en la fiesta de Paratía hizo que él se levantara y se acercase donde la joven que lo miraba desde la fila de las muchachas…. No era, pero se parecía como un kolli, único árbol de la estepa, a otro kolli, o una alpaca joven a otra alpaca joven (190).

Maxwell remembers the forces that moved him and lifted him up; he epitomizes the identity with which Arguedas identifies, as exemplified in the speech published at the beginning of *Los zorros*, "Yo no soy un aculturado." He moves back and forth between his own culture and the Andean culture, yet never truly becomes one or the other. Music and dance are the key elements that allow him not only to understand the Andean cosmovision, but also to be part of it, as the festival scene in Puno shows. Lienhard draws a connection between Maxwell and Arguedas, suggesting that the narrative voice of the "Diarios" is very similar to Maxwell's speech ("Cultura popular" 160). The similarity is striking: both Arguedas and Maxwell live between two worlds, yet find their hearts tied to the Andes. Lienhard also links the author of *Los zorros* to the mythical god Huatyacuri ("Cultura popular" 26).[20] He explains that according to the ancient myth, Huatyacuri

[20] Huatyacuri, like the foxes, appears in the compilation of Andean mythology by Francisco de Ávila, *Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí.* Arguedas translated the text into Spanish in 1966. In Chapter V of the text, Huatyacuri presents himself for the first time as the son of the powerful god Pariacaca in the form of a poor man who only eats potatoes (hence, the origin of his name: *huatya* is the name for potatoes cooked in the ground). After curing the sickness of an ailing rich man, he gains the man's daughter as his wife in payment. However, the woman's brother is very upset with Huatycuri and proposes a duel. The two compete: the rich man performs his song and dance, and then it is Huatycuri's turn. "Entonces entró a cantar el pobre… y cuando el hombre cantó, acompañándose con el tambor del zorrino, el mundo entero se movió. Y Huatycuri ganó la competencia." (33)

slept nearby as the fox from above and the fox from below conducted their first dialogue. When he awoke, he converted the new knowledge that he gained while sleeping into power, richness and prestige ("Cultura popular" 26). In fact, the foxes of the novel also discuss the parallelism between Huatyacuri and Arguedas. The fox from below says to the fox from above:

> Este es nuestro segundo encuentro. Hace dos mil quinientos años nos encontramos en el cerro Latausaco, de Huarochirí; hablamos, junto al cuerpo dormido de Huatyacuri, hijo anterior a su padre, hijo artesano del dios Pariacaca. Tú revelaste allí los secretos que permitieron a Huatyacuri vencer el reto que le hizo el yerno de Tamtañamca… Todas las pruebas las ganó el hijo de Pariacaca. (*El zorro* 48)

If Arguedas is an incarnation of Huatyacuri, he gains knowledge from his experience with the foxes, who are geographically defined yet not geographically confined. They are able to traverse the borders between the world from up above and the world of down below, just as they are able to leave their mythical origins to come in to the present. Arguedas plays on his shared border position with Maxwell, thus clarifying his connection to the foxes and to the Andean expression of music and dance. In *Dioses y hombres*, it is Huatyacuri, who obtained his powers from the foxes as he slept, who makes the world sing and dance. Arguedas invokes the foxes in his novel, and utilizes his similarities with Maxwell to reveal the Andean world view in its own light.[21]

Still, Arguedas fully comprehends, even as he begins writing, that the book is not his own; the foxes control the book, just as Andean forces are an inevitably inherent presence in the modern present. By allowing the foxes to enter into the present, Arguedas destabilizes any hegemonic discourse represented by literature or the novel itself (Legrás 213). By destabilizing the hegemonic discourse, he also undermines his authority as

[21] It is important to note that while Arguedas and Maxwell share some biographical traits, the most significant one is different: Arguedas grew up in the world with which he identifies, while Maxwell adopts a foreign world as his own.

author, allowing the foxes to take control of the novel. He is conscious of this occurrence, yet prefers to let the foxes do what they will with the novel than to take control of its language and therefore of Andean subjection, reverting back to a traditional *indigenista* – type novel where the author represents those who cannot speak for themselves. Indeed, it is exactly for this reason that Arguedas explains in the last lines of the novel that he is the end of a cycle. The foxes are the transporters of the Andean identity that will be constructed in the future. At the end of the novel we see the foxes carry on in the wake of the chaos of Chimbote's linguistic failure. Arguedas explains in his farewell to the editor, "Ahora el Zorro de Arriba *empuja* y hace cantar y bailar, él mismo, o está empezando a hacer danzar el mundo, como lo hizo en la antigüedad la voz y la tinya de Huatyacuri…" (*El zorro* 203, my emphasis)[22] The foxes are dancing and the world is their puppet; the scene of Huatyacuri from the past repeats in the present, alluding to the cyclical nature of time, and the foxes are the performative, ritualistic push of contemporary Andean discourses. Yet the last image in the "Último diario" paints a more controversial picture of the foxes:

> Los Zorros corren del uno al otro de sus mundos; bailan bajo la luz azul, sosteniendo trozos de bosta agusanada sobre la cabeza. Ellos sienten, musían, más claro, más denso que los medio locos transidos y conscientes y, por eso, y no siendo mortales, de algún modo hilvanan e iban a seguir hilvanando los materiales y almas que empezó a arrastrar este relato (*El zorro* 197).

The foxes are left in motion, moving from one world to another, and they continue to dance, maintaining the link between literary discourse and musical expression, while humanity is lost in a chaotic void. The abrupt and inconclusive conclusion of the novel keeps the foxes in this transformative state. While it could be argued that Arguedas leaves his readers with a cynical interpretation of confused foxes without hope for the

[22] A *tinya* is a small hand-made drum of leather which is used in the traditional music of the Andean region, particularly Peru.

future, our last image of the foxes, while realistic, is anything but pessimistic. Just as in Arguedas's farewell letter to the editor, the foxes here are dancing, manifesting that Andean elements are present now and in the future, even in the wake of language's failure to communicate. While the foxes are conscious of the fact that humanity has gone "half-crazy," they do not despair, nor do they lose hope. Instead, they assume the weight of humanity, carrying its representative worm-riddled dung above their heads, and continue on into the future where Andean society will slowly pick up the fragments of the past elements of their identity, elements filtered through a cultural and literary *indigenista* perspective, and they will reconstruct their Andean-ness through elements that are inherently modern, yet at the same time inherently Andean. The foxes are the real writers of the novel and will continue to "write" the world.

DOUBLE-TALKING VIOLENCE: *AL FILO DEL RAYO*, ENRIQUE ROSAS PARAVICINO

In *Al filo del rayo* (1988) Enrique Rosas Paravicino recognizes that it is impossible to separate the present from the while archaic, still relevant past; whereas his attitude towards the future may still show resistance toward some aspects of Westernized culture, he identifies the need to penetrate those hegemonic cultural codes and resignify them from the margins of modernity. Rosas draws from local histories and oral traditions, subverting the dominant culture by way of the dominated, just as Arguedas does in *Los zorros*. By supplanting hegemonic literary traditions based on national discourses, Rosas allows his readers to see the precariousness of the discourse of homogeneity associated with modernity (Galdo 137). On the back cover of *Al filo del rayo* Jesús Díaz Caballero provides us with some pertinent insight to a sector of Peruvian literature that has received

little critical attention.[23] For Díaz, with the aforementioned publication, Rosas incorporates himself into the neo-regionalist narrative of Peruvian literature of the 80s along with other writers such as Oscar Colchado, Cronwell Jara, Zein Zorilla, Samuel Cardich and Andrés Cloud. He explains that in the stories of the collection Rosas underlines Andean values that refuse to succumb to Western modernity, yet maintains a realistic perspective in his treatment of the overflow of urban migration and the violent changes in the Cusqueñan imaginary, all through a direct and punctual language that incorporates southern Andean speech patterns (Díaz Caballero). While Díaz's observations give Rosas's readers a broader context from which to read his works, I find the term neo-regionalist somewhat reminiscent of the *neo-indigenismo* or even *indigenismo* traditions of literature in that it confines Rosas's literary production to a specific region, and arguably, to a specific market. While Rosas clearly situates his work in the Peruvian Andes, his stories and thematic go beyond regionalism; it could be said that he struggles to fill the literary hole that Arguedas created in *Los zorros* through the latter's subversion of the novelistic genre in terms of the Andean cosmovision.

However, Rosas prefers to let the traditional narrative structure remain, allowing the dialogue of the characters to accomplish what Arguedas accomplished in *Los zorros*; that is, Rosas places the reader in a position to "read" the dialogic (in the Bakhtinian sense) dialogue, which in turn delegates to the reader the reconstruction of history from his own perspective, incorporating the reader into a contemporary heterogeneous Andean universe. The collection progresses in its urgency and proximity to contemporary issues, each building on the last to create an intricate socio-historical web linking the pre-Colonial and Colonial past, the present and the future through violence. For Galdo, the

[23] It is important to keep in mind that summaries and criticisms on the back cover of books are usually swayed by biases the critic holds for the author himself or for the publisher.

structural axis of the collection is historical-mythical discourse, a discourse that considers the roots of the contemporary violence of the time, specifically that of the Sendero Luminoso, as originating in the basic fractures of society established during the Conquest of the New World (Galdo, np).[24] While *Al filo del rayo* takes a substantial step into the new cycle that Arguedas begins with the end of *Los zorros*, recognizing the necessity of the production of a modern Andean discourses, and beginning to destabilize language, ideology and discourse in general from the margins of the Andean cosmovision, it does not successfully complete the subversion, leaving this modern Andean discourse in a state of homelessness reminiscent of Arguedas's *wakcha*. Although it must be notes that this generation of writers, including Rosas, Castro and Zorrilla, were widely influenced by the Boom writers, subscribing to a type of magical realism developed with Andean "materials" to express their cultural world, it would not be until over a decade later that Andean writers re-center this cultural world away from the central concept of the *wakcha* as they overcame the sense of loss associated with the migration and homelessness cause by the aftermath of the agrarian reform and the subsequent internal war that devastated the country and achieved such subversions from the margins. Still, just as Arguedas in relation to Rosas, without writers like Rosas to build the foundation, the construction of a modern Andean discourse through literature would not have been possible.

In the first story of the collection "Temporal en la cuesta de los difuntos," an assortment of people travel in a small bus from Madre de Dios to Cusco.[25] From the beginning of this first story, we are struck with an overwhelming sentiment of *wakcha*:

[24] The Sendero Luminoso, also known as the Shining Path in English, is the Maoist based terrorist organization led by Abimael Guzman who waged an internal war in Peru from 1980-1992.

[25] Madre de Dios is the region of southeastern Peru bordering Bolivia and Brazil, whose capital city is Puerto Maldonado. The entire region is low-lying Amazonian rainforest. There is only one road from Madre de Dios to Cusco, which measures 510 kilometers or 320 miles. Along the road, there is another road that leads to the mining town of Laberinto, a town mentioned in conversation in "Temporal."

There are people from various origins, who are literally in transit, and for the reader, at this point they are a collective identity whose only link is to the bus rather than to a place of origin. Only as a conversation develops between the miner, the all knowing *sabio* of Andean culture, and a Tarmeño returning from Puerto Maldonado does the reader come to find out where each individual character is from.[26] The miner brings each character out of the collective group of passengers by questioning them, incorporating them in to the conversation. By doing so, he associates the knowledge of the Andean past that he embodies with their present "nowhere" state, while at the same time underlining the heterogeneity of the collective group by allowing each individual to speak for themselves and explain their origins. In other words, the miner links the Andean past to a pluricultural present representative of the Peruvian nation. His central position in the dialogue is evocative of the centrality of the Andean cosmovision in the present identity of the passengers; even as *wakchas*, they are conscious of their roots and have not forgotten their past.

As the passengers converse, the bus passes through an *abra*, or narrow pass in the mountains, that serves as the half way point between the two regions. The reader infers through dialogue that they are traveling through Walla-walla, an area known for the proliferation of *condenados*, or condemned ones. Like in *Los zorros*, life and death are not juxtaposed; the *condenados* are dead, yet they coexist with the living. "Le dicen también el paso de los condenados. De aquí al cielo está cerquita. Uno puede terminar visitando a San Pedro en cualquier rato." (Rosas 14)[27] The region's altitude makes it closer to the gods, making it that much easier to pass from the world of the living to the

[26] Tarma, a city located 232 km east of Lima in the Andes linking Lima and the interior jungle of Peru, is known for its fertile lands and its rich pre-Inca and Inca history. Adolfo Vienrich compiled traditional folklore in Quechua from the Tarma area.

[27] From the Bible, "the keeper of the keys of the kingdom of heaven" (Matthew 16:19).

world of the dead. Once again, the present is interpreted through a world view that is different than that of the Western understanding of Catholicism which places life in this world and life in the hereafter in a sequential plane, not one of coexistence, which is a hemispheric indigenous trait. Still, the miner's reference to Saint Peter also demonstrates that his version of the present is not nostalgically seated in the archaic past that does not take the present in to account; it is a pluricultural time and space that allows all aspects of Andean history, even those established in the era of the Conquest, like Catholicism, to take part in the creation of future identity.[28]

Those who died were not only *condenados*, they were also *forasteritos*, as the miner's song describes. "He venido y no he venido/ linda palomitay, / a las puertas de tu casa. / Forasterito soy, / sin consuelo estoy. / pasajerito soy, / mañana me voy." (Rosas 15) Zein Zorrilla relates the *wakcha* identity to the genre of the *huayno*, explaining that when he was sent to school in the city, he was forced to choose between his *mestizo* and Andean identities; he was in effect left in an in-between place on the margins of both: "Dejar de ser andino para intentar la occidentalización significa de un modo, para mi caso, optar por la literatura y olvidarse de los huaynos. Y no acepto la escisión, trato de mantener mi primigenia unidad." (*La novela andina* 8) Giving up the *huayno* is symbolic of the loss that he felt as he moved into such an unhomely space. The *condenados* too are travelers without a home and without a place to stay, unable to determine where they belong. Throughout the conversations about the *condenados*, the passengers establish a history of *forasteros* that traveled through the exact place that they are right now and

[28] William Rowe and Vivian Schelling, in *Memoria y modernidad*, note that in rural Latin America, popular Catholicism tends to be a combination of pre-Colombian indigenous elements, the popular Catholicism of the 16th century, and the official teaching from the Church (87). There was a relative equilibrium between Hispanic and indigenous elements from the Colonial period until the 1950s, when the isolation of rural communities dramatically diminished due to migration caused by factors related to the agrarian reform (Rowe *Memoria* 87).

died, some of whom are most likely still there. They are, in effect, producing an *Other* history as they discuss the *condenados*. This history is inevitably attached to the violence of the past, and the discussion of which leads to a conversation about violence, criminals, the deaths of *gringos* who have passed through the area, and even the disappearance of entire tribes, like the ancient nation of the Chunchos.[29]

Nonetheless, the Irish traveler on the bus has a difficult time comprehending the history of violence in the region. "—Yo no entiendo –intervino el irlandés –Pero, ¿por qué usted dijo que aquí hay hasta condenados? –No digo yo –aclaró el minero, dice ¿ya?, dicen." (Rosas 18) Here, we glimpse the internal stratification of language that according to Bakhtin is the prerequisite for authentic novelistic prose (264).[30] Because language is considered a representation of a world view (Bakhtin 271), as each person speaks in the bus, different world views are presented, not only that of the author. Still, the stratification and heteroglossia of novelistic discourse go even farther. Bakhtin explains that, "every concrete utterance of a speaking subject serves as a point where centrifugal as well as centripetal forces are brought to bear." (272) In other words, as each character speaks, he or she demonstrates the instability of the language, and hence of the world view, that he or she represents. Additionally, as each character speaks in the story, he or she expresses two different intentions: the direct intention of the character who is speaking, and the refracted intention of the author (Bakhtin 324). Each speech fragment within the story is always internally dialogized (Bakhtin 324). Keeping the dialogic nature of the speech within the story in mind, along with the key point that language is the expression of a world view, it follows quite easily that the Irish traveler would not

[29] *Chuncho* is the name given to the indigenous jungle tribes of Peru. The term is used in Quechua to name Amazonian indigenous people and it is also used in regional Spanish.
[30] I interpret the short story genre to fall under the category of "novelistic prose," contrasting with the unitary language and style characteristic of poetry (Bakhtin 264).

understand the language of the other Peruvian travelers on the bus, even while he understands the words that they are saying, because they are producing a different historical account in terms of their own language and cosmovision.

While it would be an over-simplification to state that the Andean world and the Western world are mutually exclusive therefore making one incomprehensible to the other because of an oral/written dichotomy, Rosas depicts through a written representation of spoken language that the Western world view and that of the Andes are, while mutually understandable, not synonymous.[31] Just as Maxwell in *Los zorros* explains to Father Cardozo that he may not understand his (Spanish) language even though he may understand the significance of the words, the miner explains to the Irish man that he has not understood the oral nature of the language that was spoken, and therefore has not understood the true significance of the history of violence established by the Peruvians on the bus. In Bakhtin's terms, every discourse presupposes a special conception of the listener, of his apperceptive background and the degree of his responsiveness (346). Here, Rosas makes a distinction between the Irish man's perspective on history and that of the Peruvians on the bus through language.

Language not only becomes the vehicle for establishing a distinction between the cosmovisions of the Western world and the Andean world; by repeating the repercussions of the distinction between the two world views from the time of the Conquest to the

[31] See Antonio Cornejo Polar's *Escribir en el aire*, Chapter 1, especially pages 25-50. Also, William Rowe develops and critique Cornejo Polar's argument one step further in his article "Sobre la heterogeneidad de la letra en *Los ríos profundos*: una crítica a la oposición polar escritura/oralidad." Rowe argues that the dualistic opposition of the voice and the word depends on a selective definition of writing (299). He proposed instead that in Arguedas's works (and thus, as I propose, in those works, like Rosas's, that follow the same trajectory) that alphabetic writing is interpreted from Andean textual practices (weaving, music, dance, etc.) He states: "El dualismo jerárquico voz/letra pertenece a un relato historiográfico sobre lo sucedido en el Perú entre 1532 y el siglo XX. Concederle estatus de una teoría de la escritura crea un cortocircuito de índole ideológica: sería convertir las representaciones producidas por un modo determinado de escribir la historia en un principio epistémico." (249-250)

contemporary time of "Temporal," language also becomes the technology through which we see the violence that, for Rosas, was created in the Colonial era and is the preeminent reason behind the continued violence in the time he is writing *Al filo del rayo*. As Cornejo Polar points out in *Escribir en el aire*, literature during the Conquest and Colonial era is not only a cultural point, but also and above all a vehicle for conquest and domination (*Escribir* 39). Rosas utilizes orality in a written literary genre to underline the same point. In the case of "Temporal," he demonstrates the continuation of the colonial domination of Spanish over the indigenous Quechua. Although the miner represents the knowledge and tradition of the Andean culture, his profession signifies the Spaniards' and later *criollo*s' domination and destruction of Quechua land, and subsequently, of Quechua culture. He takes on this significance when he chooses to ask an *indio* who is chewing coca in silence where he is from, not in Spanish, as he asked the others, but in Quechua:

> Después el minero detuvo sus ojos en un indio que mascaba coca en silencio. Era un pastor de puna que había servido de peón en las minas de Laberinto. Volvía a su tierra tras dos largos años de ausencia. Le preguntó en quechua: –¿Maymantan kanchis taytay? –De Llallapara, señor, provincia de Cantas –respondió el hombre en español fluido (18).

By responding in fluent Spanish, the *indio* makes the same point that Rosas makes throughout *Al filo del rayo*: While Andean culture may retain the language and traditions of its past, it is prepared to participate and already considers itself a collaborator in a modern Andean discourse; the *indio* demonstrates his knowledge of communication codes through utilizing the hegemonic language.

As the story progresses, Rosas stresses the feeling of solitude and orphanhood with which he begins the story by introducing the ultimate *wakcha* of the future generations of Peruvians, a baby who is born on the road during the storm to a young

widow. The baby has a mother, so he is not an orphan in the traditional sense of the word; instead he is a contemporary *wakcha*: he is born without a home, on the road, in transit. He is not born into a community by default like the other travelers, and therefore he is from nowhere and cannot be a contributing member of society in the Andean conception of the term. His future is uncertain not unlike the vision of the future that Rosas holds for a nation conceived in violence and domination. However, after the baby is born, each of the travelers gives him a piece of clothing, expressing the piece of their own identity that they give to the future of the nation.[32] The gifts of clothing come from the identities of the members of society and carry the knowledge and traditions of the past with them. In the act of presenting the newborn with fragments of the past and the present, the collective group of passengers provides the newborn with all of the tools necessary so that he or she is not a *wakcha* of society. Even the Irish man presents the baby with a fine alpaca blanket, giving him a fragment of his own past and present identity in Andean form.

The birth of the baby seems to change the situation in which the passengers find themselves; the broken down bus finally starts moving again as the passengers let out a collective cheer: "Ocho gargantas respondieron a una sola voz: –¡Yaaa...! ¡Listooo!" (29) Their individual voices unite, pushing the bus into motion again; they are a pluricultural, plurilingual representation of the force that pushes that which is inanimate into motion – they are the *lloqlla* that began in Chimbote and continues to gain power through its movement. The importance of the land and the valorization of nature so important in the Andean world view go hand in hand with the future of Peru. "--¡Salús patroncitos!... por

[32] There is a tradition of the Peruvian Andes that consists of giving a newborn pieces of clothing, valuable and useful objects, and any tools that he or she may need to become a part of society and to be able to participate reciprocally in the community. The text allegorically incorporates this tradition, and relates it to the Arguedian idea of "todas las sangres" depicted in the novel by the same name. (*Todas las sangres*, 1964).

el niñito. ¡Por ese varoncito de la apacheta! En el cielo –entre nubes despanzurradas por la tormenta –una estrella errante trazó una curva fugaz...” (30) Nature brings death together with new life when the young widow on the bus gives birth to the hope of the future of Peru.

> Un largo aliento vigoroso, una sola fuerza, un impulso coordinado, unido a la potencia de motor, consiguió arrebatar las llantas al lodazal... pronto el llanto de la criatura, filtrando tenuemente en el viento, les hizo constatar que, en efecto, aquella tarde Walla-walla les tenía reservado, como una extraordinaria sorpresa, al pasajero más joven del mundo (26-28).

Once again we see the underlying force, a coordinated impulse that brings life and motion. Here the wind pushes through the mountains, transforming those who are willing or able to recognize its link to the new life that is possible, here embodied by the newborn *wakcha*.

However, the travelers also struggle to name the baby, reflecting the uncertainty of identity, even after they have provided him with fragments of the past. Language produces an ambiguity that allows for movement, yet for Rosas language also connotes a history of violence that seems impossible to escape. Hope meets ambiguity, and violence continues to produce chaos and destruction. As the story closes, the miner sees a glimpse of the magnitude of the significance of the baby’s birth. He thinks to himself, “El suceso, por muy prodigioso que fuera, no cambiaba un ápice la situación en el cerro. ¿O tal vez sí? … ‘Claro que sí’, pareció contestarse a sí mismo.” (29) Rosas transmits one final idea to his readers through dialogue that perhaps, even though language and the discourses of the present reiterate the violence of the Colonial past, it may be possible to escape the violent cycle through subverting dominant discourses with a contemporary Andean cosmovision. The Andean community to which he refers in the story is a community in motion, and the bus, representative of technology and modernity, sets the community in

motion. However, it is not the modern impulses that push the community to recognize the different facets of their identity; it is nature's power, embodied in the wind and the storms that tear through the pass in the mountains, that inspires and transforms the community, allowing it to be reborn and keeping it in a constant state of motion together with the hegemonic discourses of modernity and progress that once cast such communities outside of the time and space of modernity, stagnating them. Rosas brings his passengers out of a non-temporal place in history and makes them participants.

"El caballo jubilado" tells the story of don Crispiniano and his horse, Korilazo, whom the *señor* is going to retire on the Jueves de Compadres.[33] [34] Both don Crispiniano and his horse are representatives of the system of *gamonalismo* in Peru, or of the old system of life in the Andes in which a small number of *mistis* held power regionally over the indigenous *campesinos,* a time in which mule drivers like don Crispiniano carried goods across the region.[35] The townspeople look at don Crispiniano and Korilazo with a sense of nostalgia for a "golden age" that has passed, quite possibly in the same way that Rosas looks at the time before the onset of the internal war initiated by the Sendero Luminoso.[36]

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[33] Korilazo comes from the Quechua word *kori* meaning "golden."

[34] The *Jueves de Compadres* is the Thursday before the Andean Carnival that celebrates men. There is also a *Jueves de Comadres* that celebrates women. The Andean version of Carnival boasts a fusion of European and Andean traditions. The main entity of the celebration is devil, who comes out noisily from below the Earth to dance behind the *comparsas* parading through the town as participants and onlookers celebrate, throwing streamers and flour.

[35] See note in introduction on the definition and history of *gamonalismo*.

[36] In his study on ethnic movements, democracy and nation in Peru and Bolivia, Carlos Iván Degregori explains how with the expansion of the market and the modernization of the State, *campesinos* were able to organize in the interest of land rights and education, first in the 1920s, and then with more strength in the 1950s and 1960s (168) in order to appropriate the technologies of the dominate class and gain power for themselves. These projects were strengthened by the Agrarian Reform of 1969, which were put into effect by the military dictator Velasco (171). However, in 1975, General Velsaco's defeat coincided with an economic crisis, which brought about some of the most important social movements in contemporary Peruvian history (175). As the previously denominated *indios* became not *aculturados* but creators of a new *chicha* or *chola* identity (178), the most organized and radicalized sectors of the social movements adopted

Because don Crispiniano is linked to the *gamonal* system of the region, a system based on the exploitation and domination of indigenous people in the interests of regional power holders, his history carries violent markers of domination and conflict. José Carlos Mariátegui explains the effects of the *gamonalismo* system on the indigenous population:

> La miseria moral y material de la raza indígena aparece demasiado netamente como una simple consecuencia del régimen económico y social que sobre ella pesa desde hace siglos. Este régimen sucesor de la feudalidad colonial es el gamonalismo… Designa un fenómeno. El gamonalismo no está representado sólo por los gamonales propiamente dicho. El indio alfabeto se transforma en un explotador de su propia raza porque se pone al servicio del gamonalismo. (41)

In other words, the *gamonal* system not only pitted *criollo* and mestizo members of the population again indigenous workers in an effort to exploit them for labor, it also caused a source of internal problems within indigenous populations by providing an escape route through *mestizaje*, or through their education and the adoption of *mestizo* customs, including that of exploiting indigenous laborers.

The story's incorporation of *gamonalismo* also brings to mind the work ethic and pride of the Andean people used by the regional elite, the *mistis*, to exploit their laborers. However intense the exploitation, for the laborers in the region, a sense of pride in their identity drove them to finish the tasks requested of them. Arguedas exemplifies this pride in his early novel *Yawar fiesta* (1941) both in the *mistis*' abuse of indigenous labor in the construction of the highway between Puquio and Lima, and also in the instigation of the Indians' participation in the *yawar pukllay*, or bull fight, that takes place at the end of the novel. The townspeople look nostalgically at the old mule driver and his regal horse Korilazo remembering the pride and work ethic of the past in spite of its negative connotations. They are unsure of the future yet they are no longer able to hold on to the

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a leftist Marxist ideology (175), to the creation of the radical terrorist group Sendero Luminoso and the subsequent internal war that would devastate the country and its cultural and racial identities.

past in the way that don Crispiniano does: they are *wakchas* of the present, unsure in which direction they should look. The old man has realized that he and Korilazo pertain to a way of life that has lost its meaning in contemporary society. Now trains and trucks do the work of the no longer necessary mules and mule drivers. Technology and the drive for expansion of international commerce have made them superfluous. "No le falló el caballo, pero sí el tiempo." (Rosas 53)

The old mule driver is not inescapably linked to the way of life of the feudal-like haciendas of previous years. He understands how a Westernized version of life works, and he understands how it affects his life. Still, he chooses to link himself to the past instead of the present.[37] In other words, he elects the same view of time as that of a Westernized conception of modernity. In this type of modernity, according to Sanjinés, the past can exist in the present as nostalgia, or the future can exist in the present in the form of revolutionary thought, but both the past and the future cannot exist in the present from a "modern" perspective (191). He does not realize that it is not necessary to view his present through the lens of modernity.

At the beginning of the story, a fellow townsperson consoles him as he plans to retire his horse by using a saying created by the *criollo* elite culture of the coast. "Vaya don Crispiniano, no es para tanto. Dice el dicho que los robles cuando mueren, no sólo lo hacen de pie, sino cantando el himno de victoria..." (Rosas 52) Don Crispiniano follows the logic, but opts for his own version: "Dirá usted como un eucalipto señorcito. Porque en Pitumarca no crecen robles. Y en lugar de himnos preferiría morir cantando uno de esos cacharparis que ya no se cantan." (Rosas 52)[38] Interestingly, the eucalyptus tree that Don Crispiniano contrasts with the oak may grow in Pitumarca, unlike the oak tree, but it

[37] Pitumarca is a small town located between the Andean towns of Cusco and Sicuani.
[38] *Cachaparis* are traditional Andean songs performed to honor someone who is leaving.

is not originally from the region. Thus he stakes his identity metaphorically on something that he associates with the region but that comes from the outside, much like the system of *gamonalismo* that is no longer pertinent in contemporary society. The historical discourse implicit within the hymns of victory is one of violence and domination of the Andean regions and its people. Don Crispiniano prefers the *cacharparis* of the Andes to the national hymns as he relates more to the musical expression created in the region than to that created and sang to honor the nation, but his rejection of national paradigms does not distance him from the past *gamonal* system, which was based on local structures of power rather than national ones.

The old mule driver's body, then, becomes emblematic of the disappearing system of *gamonalismo,* but it also represents the violent structures, even within indigenous communities, like those that Mariátegui underlines in association with *gamonalismo*. Don Crispiniano embodies a violent Andean past. However, it is him, not Korilazo, whose disappearance in the context of contemporary Andean society is inevitable. The story's climax occurs when the old mule driver willingly commits suicide, leaving his horse Korilazo liberated yet without direction. The last images of the story depict the horse running unbridled and feverishly away from the town. Once again, just as in "Temporal," we are left with the image of a *wakcha* in motion. Korilazo, though, runs away from the violence of the structures put into place by *gamonalismo*.

Don Crispiniano's suicide ensures that the future generations of the Andes only relate to the violence that his generation represents as an element of the past, and not of the present. In effect, he selects himself as the representative of the end of a cycle, much in the way that Arguedas does in *Los zorros* by announcing his eminent suicide throughout the narrative and concluding with the suicide itself. Interestingly, as don Crispiniano leaves the men in the bar and returns home to prepare his suicide, they

discuss the mule driver's legendary existence, his participation in the different wars that formed the identity of the nation of Peru, and even the fact that he never had children, not for lack of want, but because, they propose, he could not as a consequence of his profession. "Parece que el exceso de cabalgatas le malogró algo de ese artefacto que nos sirve para hacer hijos. Se quedó *ushpay* para toda la vida." (Rosas 59)[39] The readers are presented once again, just as in "Temporal" with the idea of the creation (or here, the lack of creation) of a new generation through procreation. In the dawn of a new contemporary Andean identity, the embodiment of the *gamonalista* past understandably cannot reproduce and create an identity for the future.

As we will see in much of the literature that follows Rosas's work, dreams are another Andean technology used to comprehend society, a way of understanding the future in the Andes, and they provide an inside perspective on the actors within the dreams and how they resolve problems (Flores Galindo 178). In fact, dreams have been an important part of understanding Westernized perceptions of reality since Freud's investigations of the significance of the workings of the unconscious mind on conscious thought and behavior. They found their place in literature and in Latin America through the Surrealist movement in the 1920s as Latin American literature adopted and modified the movement's focus on the irrational, the emotional and the subconscious in its own terms. Even in the pre-Hispanic Andean world, dreams were an important instrument used in revealing reality. In *Dioses y hombres*, the earliest documental explanation of pre-Colonial Andean beliefs, a dream appears as one of the technologies of expression for indigenous informants for the manuscript who were caught in an ambiguous and difficult position. On the one hand, they were concerned with the survival of their population in the face of Spanish domination both physically and religiously, and on the other hand,

[39] In this context, *ushpay* is "sterile."

they struggled to maintain and reproduce their own values, beliefs and traditions. According to Susan Paulson, this led to the creation of a highly crafted "double talk."(51) In other words, dreams not only allowed for indigenous people to interpret their reality, they also became the ambiguous discourse with which "insiders" could establish themselves from the "outsiders." The outside readers are given apparent confidence by the narrator, but the insider realizes that the outsider is being insulted for being supposedly too narrow minded or culturally alien (Paulson 58).

The resource of dreams as a subversive discourse can be seen in "Al filo del rayo," the last story of Rosas's collection, a story that manifests the violence leading up to it, both within the collection of stories and within history itself. The story begins with a recounting of a dream that the governor and the mayor of an Andean town both have on the same night.[40] The two dreamers gallop on horseback across a stark landscape, reminding Rosas's readers of Korilazo's feverish escape at the end of "El caballo jubilado." These horses too speed along uncontrollably. The mayor and the governor attempt to reign in the horses so they can pass through a bronzed door that rises up to the heavens, perhaps the door to what could have been a possible future for the nation had the nation's leaders reacted differently in the dawn of the economic crisis after Velasco's regime, but they are unsuccessful. Instead, they enter into a nightmarish world full of mirrors and rays of light:

> Alzaron los ojos al cielo y en el lugar del sol encontraron un reloj gigantesco que marcaba una hora estancada. Fue entonces que se partió en dos un picacho de

[40] This narrative device was used previously by Gabriel García Márquez in "Ojos de perro azul," which reminds us of the connection between this generation of writers and those who wrote in the style of magical realism like García Márquez. Arguedas could arguably be included, at least marginally, in this Boom generation, the proff of which lies in the polemic between the Peruvian writer and Julio Cortázar. For further details and discussion of this polemic, see Mabel Moraña's "Territorialidad y forasterismo: la polémica Arguedas/Cortázar revisitada" in *José María Arguedas: hacia una poética migrante* edited by Sergio Franco.

> nieve. Repentinamente de sus entrañas brotó un torrente de agua roja, con tal violencia que inundó pueblos, sementeras, corrales y bosques... vieron cómo se formaba una gran laguna a partir de la puerta (Rosas 105).

Time has stopped, reflecting the loss of positive socio-cultural movement for the Andes forcibly linked to the violence that had stagnated the country in the 80s. A mountain of snow, a figure generally considered to be a *waka* in the Andean worldview for its outstanding beauty and majesty, splits in half inundating the area violently with red water, recalling the blood and physical violence in the Andean region and the violent upheaval of its underlying forces during the internal war.[41] Mirrors and rays of light suggest not only the reflection of the contemporary society from which the narrator speaks, but also presage the appearance of the scissor dancer later in the story, a figure present in traditional Andean culture who reflects away evil spirits with countless mirrors attached to his costume. As we will see later, the scissor dancer in this story is a modern reinterpretation of the traditional figure.

The multitude of people with whom the governor and the mayor find themselves in the nightmarish underworld adapt quickly to their new lifestyle, building houses, streets, plazas, and even a temple with a circular tower in the middle of the lake. They make the most of their situation, adapting in any way that they can; yet the two leaders are outsiders in the underworld, lost and unsure of how to react. They merely walk around, observing the destruction and chaos around them without the ability to do anything about it, expressing the utter hopelessness of the situation of the 80s and early 90s in the country felt by both its leaders and its citizens. All of the sudden the mayor and the governor find themselves in the plaza amidst a multitude of townspeople lacking any sense of individuality and acting as one cohesive unit, with the exception of two objectified brides:

[41] See previous note on *wakas* on in this chapter.

> ...allí una multitud los recibió con aplausos y vivas... La multitud sentó al alcalde y al gobernador junto a cada novia. Y entre cohetes, música y danzas empezó la fastuosa boda que las truchas jamás olvidarían. Al cabo de varias horas los azorados novios alzaron los velos de sus parejas, y cual sería su sobresalto cuando en vez de rostros encontraron dos calaveras de mujer, blancas y pulidas como para un ritual vesánico. Despertaron violentamente cuando las novias pugnan por arrastrarlos al lecho nupcial y cuando aún sonaban en sus oídos las carcajadas espasmódicas de la multitud bajo el agua (Rosas 105).

Death overtakes a ceremony meant to legitimize and initiate procreation within the confines of Westernized religion. While in "Temporal" procreation produces anxiety but also hope, and in "El caballo jubilado" procreation is deemed as impossible, here in "Al filo del rayo," the Westernized view of legitimate procreation has been turned inside out by inescapable overpowering violence.

Returning to Paulson's double-talk, the dream in "Al filo del rayo" recounts a tale of horror from an unexpected perspective. The perspective is not, as one might assume, from the point of view of the inhabitants of the region. In the dream they are a mass who can only act as a collective unit. Additionally, even though the mayor and the governor are the main characters in the dream, the dream is not recounted from their perspective either; they are merely participants. The dream is recounted by someone who does not consider themselves part of the community of *truchas*. Paulson reiterates Bakhtin's ideas on reported speech when she explains that the dream sequence in *Dioses y hombres* shows how two conflicting voices interact in one man's expression (54). Here, in the dream in Rosas's story, the same is true. On the one hand, the dream recounts the suffering and death that the Andean town has incurred due to the internal war, inviting the reader to sympathize; on the other hand, the manner in which the dream is recounted establishes a division between the community, its leaders, and the narrative voice in the dream. The narrator of the dream performs "double-talk:" one discourse for the outsiders,

and another for those who share his perspective as it is interpreted through the Andean cosmovision.

Interestingly, the author concedes that his readers hear only two main voices in the story. The first is that of a ten year old boy who has witnessed how the mayor and governor's nightmare came to life in his town. After the narrator describes the dream sequence at the beginning of the story, the boy recounts his testimony of the arrival of the Sendero Luminoso to his Andean town, the *cabildo popular* that they call to order, and the justice performed by the Senderistas on the leaders of the town.[42] The second voice is that of the *camarada* Flor, the woman who is the representative voice of the Shining Path group that comes to the town. The author repeats the dialogic discourse in the dream that divides the narrative voice from the town and the town's leaders through the dialogue in the rest of the story. Neither the boy nor the *camarada* Flor are part of the collective masses. Their discourses emanate from the margins of both the collective discourse represented by the townspeople and the official discourse represented by the governor and the mayor.

Flor and the other members of the Sendero Luminoso are self-proclaimed *wakchas*, choosing to leave the communities to which they belong in order to reconstitute their identity through another ideology. The *camarada* Flor explains the origins of her group to the townspeople:

> Hemos abandonado nuestras casas, nuestras familias y nuestros trabajos para incorporarnos a la lucha armada. Y como nosotros hay miles de peruanos combatiendo en el país, tanto en costa, sierra y selva... y en representación del Camarada Gonzalo, líder-guía de nuestra causa, padre de *los huacchas desheredados* del Perú… (Rosas 112-114, my emphasis)

[42] *Cabildo* is a term meaning "head" or "representative" that was transplanted from Medieval Spain to Latin America during the Conquest. A *cabildo popular* has come to signify a meeting of the members of a community in which representation is popular, or democratic. Usually a *cabildo popular* is only called for urgent issues of grave importance.

The narrator's choice to include Flor and to allow her to identify herself as a *wakcha* demonstrates his recognition of those that are on the margins of society and their importance in the creation of new identitary definitions. Flor and her comrades may be located on the margins of the community as self-proclaimed *wakchas* without a home, yet they are still subjects of the nation, forcing us to rethink the designation of the people "as one" through language (Bhabha "DissemiNation" 304). Rosas demonstrates the *wakchas'* pertinence from the margins through linking their actions in the present to the overarching Andean cosmovision that still plays a formational part in the construction of their identities.

Near the end of the story, Flor and her comrades have decided the mayor and the governor's fate, and their attention is called to a policeman who had been hiding from the *cabildo*. In an effort to save himself from the Sendero's justice, he exposes the arms and ammunition hidden in the school's basement. Even so, the *camarada* is not convinced that he should live. The desperate policeman shows Flor a picture of his family, hoping for compassion. Flor realizes that the policeman's wife is her sister; thus, they decide not to execute him as they have done with the other representative of the State. Instead, they force him to undergo a minor punishment that somewhat resembles the Andean scissor dance: [43]

> En tanto, el terro grande, sopeado por Matilde, se paseaba a sus flancos, haciendo sonar unas tijeras negras. *Sus pies parecían llevar el compás de alguna danza del lugar...* Así como estas tijeras cortan el pelo del mal hombre, así la revolución cortará la mala yerba del pueblo. Así también cortaremos de raíz la pobreza, la explotación, la ignorancia…(Rosas 117, my emphasis)

[43] The scissor dance is a ritual dance performed throughout the central and southern highlands of Peru that tests the physical and spiritual strength of the participants through stunts of increasing difficulty accompanied by violin and harp music, and of course, scissors.

Flor links the ideology that she and her comrades hold to Andean cultural codes. The *camarada* seeks to "initiate" the policeman into her own ideology by exposing him to a modern version of Andean traditions. She, like the other characters in the other stories of the collection, feels a loss of origin and identity due to social conflicts originating in the system of *gamonalismo*. Hers and the Senderistas' violent actions are merely part of an explosive and brutal response to the violence of *gamonalismo*. Flor and the other *wakchas* in Rosas's collection of stories relate to the violence of the past through Andean codes, creating new identitary discourses from the margins founded in the codes of the Andean cosmovision.

As the townspeople-converted-Senderistas celebrate the justice done in the *cabildo popular* by singing and dancing with masks on in the plaza, Flor sits off to the side, sadly watching. She realizes that she never really lost her family and her community. In fact, in that moment when Senderismo has become the new family and ideology for the community, Flor's world is shaken by her reidentification with her own family, and as people dance around the plaza in masks that poorly cover their true identities, it becomes quite apparent that the Senderista ideology cannot withstand the true Andean identity to which the characters relate.

Our young narrator closes the story with the haunting observation that the Senderista ideology is the cause of more pain and violence in the Andean world, retracing the cycle of the *wakcha* instead of resolving it as it had proposed:

> ¿A quién quieren engañar con sus máscaras de lana? A cualquiera; a mí no. Me entran ganas de llamarles por sus nombres, pero me contengo... Porque ese otro bailante, de chompa café, con máscara de colores vivos, es don Mermenegildo Astete Carpio... es decir mi padre. Mejor me voy (Rosas 121).

The masks that the townspeople wear recall a ritual action similar to that of the scissor dance that takes place during the *cabildo popular*. Yet here, the young narrator sees

through the ritual – the masking of identities intended with wearing masks does not convince him because the performance does not coincide with his perspective on the truths inherent in Andean society. He loses his origin, in the form of his father, by maintaining his own perspective instead of falling in to line with the rest of the community. By maintaining his stance, consequently, he makes himself a *wakcha*, without a family and without a community, yet still Andean in a contemporary context.

The Senderista ideology that was once part of the marginal discourse has now incorporated itself into the collective discourse. Flor has seen that the Senderista ideology has not really transformed her into a true *wakcha*, yet she merely transfers that feeling of orphanhood to the young narrator, creating a cyclical effect. As the story ends the narrator self-identifies as marginal, abandoning his community and family as Flor had done in the past. He struggles with the conflicting feelings of wanting to individualize the *truchas* of the community as they dance in celebration by calling out their names and of his still present familial ties with his father, who is one of the community. Our *wakcha* does not deny his foundation or ties to family although he chooses orphanhood over being part of the community. Just as in *Los zorros*, while humanity may turn "half-crazy," forgetting parts of its identity and its past, the underlying Andean cosmovision and its inseparability from the past will always be a driving force in the formation of contemporary Andean identities.

ENUNCIATING FROM A *NO LUGAR*: *TIERRA DE PISHTACOS*, DANTE CASTRO

Dante Castro, in his own collection of stories, *Tierra de pishtacos* (1993) also uses violence as the overlying theme in his narrative. Sometimes this violence comes to a head as nature, other times as the actions of the Shining Path, and even as urban violence

in the destruction of Andean morality upon migration to the city. All of the characters in his stories are stuck between two forces, in a *no lugar* or non-place, and do not identify with the hegemonic discourse on the project of modernity. For Castro, the culture of the dominant class directs an "ensayo de orquesta disonante y atropellado que es la cultura 'nacional.'" ("El pueblo" np) Popular culture reproduces itself as a counterpart to that which is "national" or hegemonic, but, in Castro's world, "no le es del todo ajena." ("El pueblo" np) In other words, Castro reiterates Bhabha's theory that marginal discourses create and sustain the nation. Castro continues, "La cultura popular defiende sus espacios con lo propio, pero también domeñando lo que antes era el otro. *El pueblo incorpora transformando, no calca ni imita* ("El pueblo" np, my emphasis). This last phrase is paramount; it underscores the view that Andean cultures are not just rehashing the same system that has not worked for them, a view that many, including Arguedas, held previously.[44] Instead, they constantly redefine and transform meanings through culture. As far as the role of the state in the process of creating culture, Castro holds that the *pueblo* creates culture everyday. The state, though, always arrives late or not at all in its valorization of cultural production.

The first story of Castro's collection, "Demonio del monte" takes place in the central Andes of Peru near the Pedregal Mountain in Cajamarca. Life and death intersect as Epifanía's impending death from a snake bite inspires the narrator, an old blind man named don Ezequiel, to tell Epifanía the story of her long ago disappeared husband José Perla during the last moments of the woman's life. The story is told orally, although Castro brings it to his readers in written form, much in the same way that *Dioses y*

[44] The italicized phrase is a populista saying that has constantly been repeated in politics through the 20th century from the populist left.

hombres and other collections of Andean oral histories and traditions are told.[45] Just as in *Dioses y hombres*, we see the use of double talk; the narrator's voice is a dialogic compendium of different Andean perspective, and his story can be interpreted on a variety of insider and outsider levels. Don Ezequiel recounts to Epifanía the fateful night that he walked home alone after a few drinks, even after having lost his cane. He slips down a ditch near the iron bridge in town and into the river. Although he finally gets himself to dry land, he is unable to find safety due to the grave condition of his injuries. Still, he regains hope when he hears a voice. The man who comes to his rescue refuses to give Ezequiel his name, only assuring him that he is a friend: "Consuélese con que soy amigo. Ni pishtaco ni ladrón. Un amigo." (*Tierra* 11) As the two converse, Ezequiel realizes, even without seeing him, that he is speaking to his disappeared friend José Perla. However, the mention of *pishtacos* alerts the reader to the possibility of error and the presence of doubt in the narrator's story.

When the man who is helping Ezequiel offers to tell the story of the last he heard of José Perla, it seems as though the mystery may be solved. The reader is presented with another story within a story, this one even stranger than the last. The narrator of the story, the man that Ezequiel believes is José Perla, tells the story about José Perla's last known whereabouts in third person. He explains that José, proud of his exceptional abilities and of his new gun that he had recently bought, sets out one day to hunt. Although others had

[45] It is also important to not that Castro's works, even moreso that the other writers in this transition period, are strongly influenced by Juan Rulfo's writing. In fact, Arguedas, Rulfo, and the magical realism associated with both writers were strong influences for this generation of writers. While I consider this element of Castro's works important to its overall comprehension and analysis, in this chapter I have chosen to focus on the elements of the author's writing that reflect Andean cultural practices in the way that Arguedas's *Los zorros* does, especially in light of the fact that Castro is the only author of the three I analyze in this chapter who is from Lima. While, as I discuss previously in the introduction, I consider the geographical division of Andean/non-Andean literary production to be a construction based out of hegemonic discourses themselves usually originating in the capital city, I also fin the need to focus on narrative devices in Castro's work related to the Andean cultural archive more pertinent that a focus in its just as present international and/or Westernized influence.

warned him to be careful because it was the rainy season and the river could flood easily, he refuses to pay attention to the warnings, considering his abilities to be superior to nature's whims. He happens upon a family of pigs, and shoots various times, but misses. He continues on, determined to bring an animal home that will cause his neighbors to be jealous, but he gets caught in a torrential downpour that causes the river to rise and makes his return impossible. José survives by watching what the pigs eat and imitating them, and after months of living with the pigs that he once tried to kill, he is elated when the river goes down enough to allow him to go back home to his wife Epifanía and his children. Be that as it may, on his way home, he catches his reflection in a pool of water and is stunned to find that he has turned into a pig himself, complete with tusks and hair all over his body. This occurrence is quite common in Andean mythology and folklore. Gods transform men into animals in accordance with the lack of values or morals. Here José Perla is transformed into a pig due to his lack of humility. He finds himself in a *no lugar*, knowing that humans would fear him as a wild beast, and animals would fear him because he was human (*Tierra* 17). He heads off into the mountains, never to be heard of again.

As we "listen" to José's story, we are reminded of another similar story that was translated from an oral account to written text. While *Dioses y hombres* tells the creation story of various animals, like the deer, who were converted into animals because of their moral inadequacies,[46] Adolfo Vienrich provides another version of the origin of the deer

[46] See *Dioses y hombres*, p. 35-36. Hautycuri, a god dressed as a poor man, and his rich brother-in-law compete in a series of duels in order to prove their superiority. After Huatycuri wins a series of competitions, he proposes that each man sing and dance. When the rich man is dancing, Huatycuri lets out a yell from which all of his strength emananates. The rich man becomes so scared that he turns into a deer and flees. He begins to eat humans (reminding us once again of the *pishtaco* that roams the mountains feeding on human flesh), and deer are known as human eaters. However, a young deer gets confused. He asks, "¿Cómo nos han de comer los hombres? Al oír estas palabras los venados sintieron temor y se dispersaron. Desde entonces se convirtieron en comida humana." (36) The spoken word subverts the previously established order of the world.

in *Fábulas quechuas* (1905). With the publication of this collection and the accompanying *Azucenas quechuas* (1906), Vienrich questions the institution of written culture from within the technology of literature itself (Espino 103). He denounces the legitimacy of official literary production in order to represent all of the verbal practices of society (Espino 103), which are, in this case, fables passed down in Quechua from generation to generation that Vienrich recorded in his hometown of Tarma. While the efficacy of subverting official literary production through recording oral traditions in writing and making them literary production too is somewhat questionable, the double-talk of *Dioses y hombres* and the subversion of the official discourse though using the technologies of that discourse both carry over into Castro's "Demonio del monte."[47]

In "El hermano codicioso" from the collection compiled by Vienrich, two brothers, one rich and one poor, live in the same house. Yet the rich brother denies his relationship to his poor brother at a party, and latter leaves, upset and in search of food. Right away, we are reminded of Huatyacuri's competition with his brother-in-law in *Dioses y hombres.* The poor man speaks with an old man who gives him a rock, telling him to return home with it quickly, without stopping, but night falls, and he is forced to find refuge in a cave. As he sleeps, he hears a dialogue between the cliffs, the mountains and the high plains. They all take pity on him and decide to provide him with corn. He wakes up, finds the corn, and devours it, trying to save a little for his family. Then he falls back asleep. When he awakes in the morning, he finds that the three different types of corn have been transformed into gold, silver and copper. The reader cannot help but recall the similarities between the poor man and Huatyacuri. Both sought the knowledge and advice of an older man (in Huatyacuri's case, Pariacaca), and both gain special

[47] See Gonzalo Espino, "Tradición oral, culturas peruanas: una invitación al debate, Vol 2002," especially p. 103-104.

powers as they sleep. The poor man in Vienrich's tale is unable to carry his gifts home due to the weight, so he rushes home empty-handed yet happy, explaining to his family the events of the previous night. His brother does not believe his story, accuses him of being a thief, and heads straight to the cave to get a rock from the old man, hoping for the same fate as his brother. Here, we are reminded of the rich brother-in-law's fate in *Dioses y hombres*. Although the origin myth does not specifically explain the reason for the brother-in-law's transformation, we can infer from the rich/poor dichotomy that the gods favor those who are poor to those who are rich and take advantage of the poor. In Veinrich's version, nature recognizes the rich brother's greed and decides to give him horns, hair and a tail. When he wakes up he is completely transformed into a deer. He arrives home to his family, but his family is unable to recognize him. His only recourse, just like José Perla's, is to flee to the mountains. In fact, Vienrich's version of the story clarifies the situation that José in which finds himself and the mystery behind his identity. An Andean perspective on contemporary situations allows the reader to understand reality in a manner that was previously not available to him.

Castro's story ends as Ezequiel realizes that he and José are near the highway. He asks his friend to move him closer so that he can get help from the vehicles passing by. José complies with his friend's request, but not without hesitation. A group of men stop their truck, jump out yelling, and shoot in the direction of the two friends. José drops Ezequiel and hurries off. The men hurry towards Ezequiel describing to him how they have saved him from the *huañuri*.[48] Although he protests that the man who carried him had saved him from the river, they negate his version, telling him that he did not realize the person's true identity because he could not see. The truth is though, that the old blind

[48] "That which kills" or "death" in Quechua.

man is the only one who can actually see the *condenado's* identity because of his "lens" of contemporary society based on the Andean cosmovision.

The last lines of the story leave the reader with a sense of instability as the two perspectives, that of Ezequiel and that of the men who are hunting the *huañuri* collide: "Los que bajaron a perseguirlo, regresaban. Se lamentaban de que hubiera escapado, decían que estaba herido, que iba a regresar con más hombres para cazarlo. Me alegré en el fondo de mi alma." (*Tierra* 19) While the ending of the story is ambiguous, considering the story's folkloric roots, specifically in its similarity to the story told in Vienrich's subversive compilation and in the undoubted reference that the story also makes to the creation myth in *Dioses y hombres*, the reader makes a clear connection between the double-talk and subversiveness of the story's folkloric literary predecessors and "Demonio del monte." Thus, Ezequiel's last thoughts are not as ambiguous as they may first appear. By placing this story first in his collection, Castro expresses his hope for those who occupy a *no lugar* in society, like José Perla, to be recognized. Ezequiel becomes happy down deep in his soul when he hears that the men are heading back out to find his friend because he realizes, just like Arguedas does in *Los zorros*, that recognition is not a given in society. His hope is that his friend will be recognized on his own terms, allowing him to leave his *wakcha* state and become a part of society again.

Castro's "Pishtaco" also subverts an official written account by rewriting the back-story of the massacre of Uchuraccay, twisting the 1983 investigative committee's findings in such a way that casts a shadow of doubt upon them and allows the Andean community agency in their own destiny. [49] The action of the story by Castro takes place

[49] The story "Pishtaco" is an interesting twist on the idea of the outsider that dialogues with the polemic massacre in Uchuraccay in 1983. The best-known source concerning the massacre is the report by the "Comisión Investigadora de los Sucesos de Uchuraccay," a committee appointed by president Belaúnde and made up of Mario Castro Arenas, Abraham Guzmán Figueroa and Mario Vargas Llosa. The report is divided into four sections: "Cómo fue," "Por qué fue," a section of advice, opinions and knowledge by

in an Andean town where a number of deaths have occurred in the recent past. Many people attribute these deaths to a *pishtaco,* dubbing him as an outsider as they describe him as white with blue eyes, probably someone who wants to take their land, a description of the *pishtaco* that follows traditional ideas of his characteristics. At this point in the story, the reader is reminded of the investigative committee's condemnation

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anthropologists, psychoanalysts and linguists, and then finally a section including the transcripts of the recordings collected during the investigation. The first section details the findings of the committee: A group of journalists from various newspapers headed toward Hauychao, a neighboring town of Uchuraccay, to investigate the murder of a group of Senderistas at the hands of the town. The event had received quite a bit of national press, and most Peruvians considered it an act of heroism for the town that stood up to the encroaching violence of the terrorist group. As the group neared Hauychao, the townspeople of Uchurracay, who had been in a town meeting, apparently mistook them for Senderistas and beat them to death. The deaths that day also included the journalists' guide, who was a Quechua speaker and a member of a nearby community. The report recognizes that the *sinchis* (military who had taken on a cuasi-paramilitary role) who had visited the town on previous occasions had urged the townspeople to fight back if the Senderistas arrived, but they in no way had authorized the community's decision to take the law into their own hands (20-21). The committee considered that this information did not suffice in the explanation of the events of that fateful day, so they included the second section explaining the reasoning behind the community's decision and its subsequent attempt to cover up the events. It categorizes Uchuraccay's decision as the result of a primitive and archaic culture (23) who did not understand the difference between superstitions and politics, democracy, or the idea of nation: "…En nuestro país, la existencia junto al sistema jurídico occidentalizado y oficial, que en teoría regula la vida de la nación, de otro sistema jurídico, tradicional, arcaico, soterrado y a menudo en conflicto con aquél al cual ajustan su vida y costumbres los peruanos de las alturas andinas como Huaychao y Uchuraccay." (32) It even explains that the Senderistas were not interested in converting the townspeople of Uchuraccay to their ideology; they were only interested in having a secured route from one region to the next. "Su gran aislamiento, la dureza de la clima y del terreno en que viven, su dispersión, su primitivismo, los llevaron acaso a no considerarlas un objetivo codiciable en su trabajo de adoctrinamiento o como potenciales bases de apoyo." (29) The real trouble, the commission claims, is when Senderistas began to rob provisions and animals from the town. When two Uchuracaínos, Alejandro Huamán and Venancio Aucatoma, protested, the Senderistas killed them as an example to the rest of the town. The friction was inevitable, the commission holds, because the Uchuracaínos, when found in situations such as those, had always reacted "con gran beligerencia y fiereza." (30) Aside from negating the town's comprehension of the political situation and relegating them to an archaic space outside of the modern nation of Peru, the results of the commission of Uchuraccay resulted in the killing of 135 Uchuracaínos in the following months, 57 of them women. The killings were manifested by the Shining Path, the Peruvian military, and the sinchis. Those who survived fled to the nearby jungle or immigrated to Lima. In Dante Castro's opinion, the results of the commission were just a way to cover up the grave errors of the Peruvian army in the area ("El pueblo" np). It succeeded in doing exactly that, and additionally, it succeeded in reiterating already existent stereotypes of Andean culture, ultimately judging the Andean region as unfit to participate in the modernity and progress of the nation because of their "backward" beliefs. The committee investigating Uchuraccay points to the superstitions of Uchuracaínos, namely the myth of the *pishtaco* in the reasoning for the massacre. "Los ocho cadáveres fueron enterrados boca abajo, forma que, en la mayor parte de las comunidades andinas, se sepulta tradicionalmente a quienes los comuneros consideran 'diablos' o seres que en vida 'hicieron pacto' con el espíritu del mal. (En los andes, el diablo suele ser asimilado a la imagen de un 'foráneo')." (37)

of the Andean community to the archaic past because of their "backward" beliefs. The massacre in Uchuraccay was blamed on the community's belief in the *pishtaco*, and here he appears again, demonstrating at first glance the "superstitious" nature of the community's belief system in the story.

All signs point to the *gringo* who makes it no secret that he wants to buy the community's land and use it for commercial production. Yet the *gringo* dies at the hands of the *pishtaco* too, and his culpability is ruled out when the monster strikes again. Within the first half of the story, the townspeople's "archaic superstitions" are proved to be wrong, also alluding to the idea that the report on Uchuraccay was incorrect in its assumptions of the Andean worldview. Taking an additional turn from the expected, Castro does not eliminate the character of the *pishtaco* from the story. Instead, the townspeople reappropriate their knowledge, still in accordance with the Andean cosmovision. The main character Cristina, who lost her husband to the murderer, is aware of the incompatibility of the deaths happening in the town and the existence of a *pishtaco* in part because her husband had explained it to her previously. "No hay pishtaco, Cristina. Ese ha sido un cuento de los poderosos para quitarles su tierra a los pobres." (*Tierra* 36) Yet she still chooses to interpret her reality through such cultural codes. She visits a shaman and asks for a solution to her problem, refusing to tell the shaman or anyone else that she fears that the *pishtaco* will come for her and her children next, knowing that they would ridicule her for her beliefs. Cristina finds an unexpected resolution to the issue, as we will see later, all the while following the shaman's instructions and somewhat doubting their efficacy, conscious of a Westernized perspective on the situation and its incompatibility with her own interpretation and the shaman's, and oscillating between the two points of view.

As she goes through the motions of the prescribed ritual, part of which involves taking her clothes off and bathing in different solutions, Venancio, a trusted member of the community, arrives at her house. Once he sees her naked, he cannot control his strong urges to take over her land and her body, and he begins to rape her. The link between Cristina's body and her land recalls the domination of indigenous peoples in the Andes during the era of *gamonalismo*. A trusted member of the historically dominated Andean community takes on behaviors of the dominant, exemplifying the all too real interiorization of the discourse of domination as "truth," by, of course, those who are doing the discrimination, but also above all by those who are discriminated against, making such discourses quite an effective mechanism of social control (Bruce 33). Interestingly, Venancio is the name of one of the Uchuracaínos killed by the Senderistas as an example for the rest of the town. Just like the foxes in *Los zorros,* Castro blurs the insider/outsider dichotomy with the goal of subverting hegemonic discourses.

In fact, the concept of *pishtaco* in the story is not the commonly accepted definition of an evil spirit from the Andean nether world that attacks lone figures on the mountainous roadside, throws magical powder in their face, and then proceeds to suck their body fat out through the anus to sell to powerful national and international companies (Portocarrero 48-49). In Castro's "Pishtaco," ordinary people who eat human fat become evil. Venancio becomes evil, and therefore he becomes the *pishtaco*:

> Una vez que comen sebo de cristiano se vuelven el uno contra el otro; no hay piedad para nadies. –Decía el viejo Enrique Ataucusi al bodeguero. --¿Y quién va a vender sebo de hombre, don Enrique? –contestó sintiéndose acusado. -¿Acaso sabes de dónde te traen la manteca? ¿Conoces al que vende manteca de chancho? –Preguntaba casi gritando el viejo--. ¿Quién vende a ti pa' que tú vendas? (*Tierra* 44)

The malady of society is linked to the anonymity of the market, a place in which anyone, even those who are not considered outsiders, can turn against their own community. The

sebo de cristiano that poisons members of society is the metaphorical incarnation of the exploitation of fellow human beings.

As mentioned above, Cristina finds an unexpected solution to the problem of protecting her land, her children and herself after she finds herself widowed. Some of the townspeople who are drinking and discussing the *pishtaco* in the bar also discuss her recent availability after the death of her husband and the value of her lands. They decide to visit the widow. In the midst of the rape, she hears them arrive. "--¡Pishtaco! ¡Pishtaco! –gritó desesperada cuando consideró que estaban a pocos metros de la casa." (*Tierra* 52) The men kill the *"pishtaco"* realizing only afterward that it is Venancio Paredes who they had considered one of "their own" and not an outsider. Cristina's behavior in line with traditionally Andean cultural codes saves her, her land, and her children in the end, even without her consciousness or intentionality in the outcome of her actions. Castro inverts the idea of the outsider, questioning Westernized versions of the story of the *pishtaco* and allowing for new interpretations of what an outsider is according to Andean cultural codes, interpretations that are linked to state policies on cultural production. Just as in *Los zorros*, the market is a critical part of contemporary views of society. Castro urges his readers to see a modern perspective through an Andean lens that, rather than opposing modernity, finds solutions within it.

"La guerra del arcángel San Gabriel" returns to the massacres in Uchuraccay and the following state-sponsored truth commission's results in a much more forceful and haunting manner. The story takes place in the town of Yuraccancha, a town stuck between their alliances with the Shining Path and with the *sinchis*.[50] It narrates a complex web of power struggles between the townspeople and its local representatives, between the men and women of the town, and between the school teacher of the town, his students

[50] Yuraccancha is an anagram for Uchuraccay.

and their parents as each component strives to maintain their individual and collective identities in light of the greater dialectic power struggle between the Peruvian government and the Shining Path. In other words, Castro removes the Andean town of Yuraccancha from its objectification as primitive and isolated as the Report on Uchurracay does (34), allowing its members to be agents of their own present. Castro does not view the participants in the all-too-familiar struggle of Yuraccancha through a lens of nostalgia for the Andean past, nor does he collectivize them. He allows them to speak for themselves and for their own actions, whether positively or negatively, giving them agency and permitting them to be much more than passive victims caught between two forces. The narrator and teacher for the town explains at the beginning of the story, "Seguimos viviendo al margen de la guerra sin habernos alejado de ella," (*Tierra* 53) reminding us of Bhabha's discourses of marginality and foreshadowing a possible outcome for the story. In fact, as we will see, Castro redefines the identity of Andean town of Yuraccancha/Uchuraccay through subverting the official discourse, represented here by the Report on the massacre of Uchuraccay.[51]

Despite the difficult position in which the town finds itself, negotiating the boundaries between loyalties to each group and protecting their families from the violence emanating from both sides, the local authorities do not take any action until the Shining Path places a tax on the *aguardiente* that is being produced in the town. The taxation is a sign of state building that comes from the Senderistas in the story, a commentary on the group's contradictions between it ideology and application. Local authorities hold a vote to decide the alliances of the town, and while the tax on *aguardiente* is the cause for the vote, the role of language also takes center stage. In the

[51] See previous note in this chapter on the Informe de la Comisión Investigadora de los sucesos de Uchuraccay (1983).

voting, the town authorities utilize their knowledge of Spanish as a form of dominance; yet this dominance is subverted, also through language, demonstrating the precariousness of the systems of power upon which said domination is based. The town leaders hold the discussion of the point on which to be voted entirely in Spanish even though the majority of the population of the town speaks little or no Spanish. After the vote reveals the decision to break alliances with the Senderistas, some young Senderistas come in to town seeking shelter from the cold, and authorities invite them in to their homes, only to kill them as they sleep, exercising their newly established power. Nonetheless, when news crews come from the city accompanied by the *sinchis* to interview the authorities about the killings, don César Huamaní, one of the town's representatives, responds only in Quechua, "poniendo esa cara de indio desamaparado frente al traductor y las cámaras." (*Tierra* 58)[52] He utilizes the dominated language to his favor also, but, as the narrator notes, he continues to cry long after the authorities have left because he realizes that his dominance through language does not afford him any true protection. The linguistic policy and politics in the town reflect its past history of being subjugated due to language. According to the investigations of the Report on Uchuraccay, the lack of linguistic comprehension between the journalists who were killed and the mass of townspeople was one of the main reasons for the escalation of events that led to their murder. The report explains that,

> ... los periodistas debieron ser atacados de improviso, masivamente, sin que mediara un diálogo, y por una multitud a la que el miedo y la cólera, mezclados, enardecían y dotaban de una ferocidad infrecuente en su vida diaria y en circunstancias normales (*Tierra* 15).

[52] *Sinchi* is the name typically used in the Andes for the Civil Guard.

Castro revisits the incident in "Pishtaco" but places linguistic agency in don Huamaní's hands, giving him, and not the media, the opportunity to establish or deny communication through linguistic difference.

Castro gives the "mass" of people in Yuraccancha language and a voice, allowing them to use it to their own advantage, whether it that means that the authorities use it to control their townspeople and the reactions of outsiders, or whether that means calling the professor/narrator's camaraderie and leadership abilities to attention. When the Senderistas come back to the town to avenge the deaths of their comrades, they let down their guard in front of the teacher, showing him respect as a true leader of the town and also allowing the reader to see that they too have roots in the town:

> —Chau, profesoracha. –Me dijo cariñoso un maq'tito con el rostro cubierto por un pasamontañas rojo.[53] Miedo me dio no saber de quién se trataba. Mi alumno seguramente habría sido y, antes de unirse al grupo que cubría la retirada de los 'cumpas' me obsequió una manzana. Llevaba el arma terciada a la espalda y desapareció a lo lejos haciéndome adiós con su mano pequeña aún (*Tierra* 61-62).

We will see later on in the story a further example of the use of language as a technology for power when the townspeople approach the teacher for help, speaking to him in Quechua.

After the Shining Path returns for revenge, the *sinchis* arrive to take control of the town, implementing their own equally violent measures. They hold a party one night and rape many of the women in the town, yet the husbands, brothers and fathers of the violated women refuse to stand up to the abuse fearing further and much more violent reprisals. Therefore, the women decide to trick the *sinchis*, seeking their own vengeance for the violence through the mechanism that is available to them, their femininity. Clotilde, the girl with the prettiest eyes in town, begins a relationship with the leader of

[53] *Maqt'a* is young man or adolescent in Quechua.

the military group. She is seen going in and out of the school, where the paramilitaries have set up their barracks, and rumors flow throughout the town concerning her honor and integrity. The men of the town, the same men who would not fight back for their female family members, look at her shamefully, but her motives are explained by the massacre of the *sinchis* that she orchestrates. She convinces the other women of the town to enter the barracks one night, and they, all at the same time, plan to kill their lovers by stabbing them in the heart as they sleep. What they did not know though, is that Clotilde had additional plans:

> La Clotilde mató [a Coster] borracho y satisfecho, hundiéndole ese gran alfiler de plata en el corazón. Luego, lueguito, haría eso que él le prohibiera: jalar la argolla de la lata esa juntito a las cosas que guardaba Coster en la habitación. Ahora que está ciega y toda quemada la pobre, se le ha dado por contar cómo fue (*Tierra* 71).

By setting off the dynamite in the barracks, she makes a collective decision for her town that being dead is better than being caught in the middle of the Shining Path and the government backlash. Clotilde's decision gives her and her community back the agency that they had lost through perspectives like that of the report on Uchuraccay. The community is no longer a victim in a *no lugar* between two forces that they could not control.

As the professor mentions at the beginning of the story, though, the community still remains on the margins of the war, without being removed from it. They also fear the repercussions of their actions. After Clotilde blows the barracks up, the remaining townspeople resolve to leave the community and join other communities or go up in the mountains. The professor goes into a cave with his wife, only to have his students find him. They come to ask him for help, speaking to him in Quechua and convincing him to lead them and keep them safe from the *cachacos*.[54] Although the author does not allude

[54] *Cachaco* is the term usually used to refer to cops or policemen.

to the professor's political stance, considering the Senderista involvement of professors in Andean schools that had been forgotten by educational policies of the Peruvian government, it is not surprising that the professor relates more to the members of this group than to the *sinchis* or the Peruvian government. As much as he may like to think otherwise, his influence in the town is powerful. He is finally convinced of his power to do something for the safety of the town in a dream. In this dream sequence, similar to that of "Al filo del rayo," we are inundated with images of violence. However, here, the dream leaves the dreamer (and the reader) with a bit of hope:

> Soñé esa noche con los alcoholeros que habíamos visto morir en la plaza, todos tirados panza arriba, degollados, capados, mutilados, ahorcados. Al medio de ellos lucía la imagen del arcángel San Gabriel, patrono de Yuraccancha, triste y olvidado… Me contó de la vaina que era ser patrón de una comunidad de alcohólicos y fornicarios. Me dijo que ya estaba cansado y que ya no quería seguir siendo San Gabriel. '¿No quieres ser tú San Gabriel?' me preguntó, poniéndome una mano blanquísima en el hombro. Yo me reí de buena gana a pesar de estar entre tanto muerto. ¿Cómo voy a ser, pues, San Gabriel?... ¿Acaso alguien ha visto un San Gabriel cholo, feo, jorobado?... *(Tierra* 62*)*

On the contrary, that is exactly the role that he takes on by the end of the story, reuniting the surviving townspeople through new hope, thus gaining a new facet of their identity through their state of orphanhood. The characteristics that the professor considers to exclude him from the possibility of taking on the role of San Gabriel are exactly those characteristics that make him capable of the responsibility. San Gabriel is longer pertinent in the Andean society whose destruction the professor has witnessed in the course of the story. Now, the *cholo* who represents the true leadership of the town, not because of his position as an educator, but through his connection of the *wakcha* homelessness to new possibilities for the future, picks up the pieces left by the destruction of the war to create a new Andean society.

Back in the abandoned town, Clotilde Najarro tells the officers that come to the town that she was the one responsible, and that San Gabriel has taken everyone with him so that they could not be harmed any further. The officer says that San Gabriel does not exist, but Clotilde disagrees. "Tú de repente no lo conoces, taitallico.[55] Pero él se los llevó a todos y después va a buscarte para hacerte pagar todos tus abusos." (*Tierra* 75) She walks away as the military destroys the town and brutally kills everyone who did not or could not leave with the others. With the complete destruction of the town comes the complete recognition of the community's state of being *wakchas.* The violence has now gone full circle; once Clotilde recognizes the professor's transformation to San Gabriel in her dialogue with the soldiers, she also completes the collective decision that she makes for the town: they would rather die than continue living in the violent situation in which they found themselves before. The military takes their cue from Clotilde and not vice versa because she has successfully subverted the power structure that once dominated the community.

The final lines of the story turn "history" into legend, and the dream that the instructor had at the beginning of the story becomes a reality, just as Clotilde had claimed:

> Y así me llaman ahora, porque a mi paso los huaicos se detienen, la cordillera me esconde y los cernícalos me avisan. [56] Hasta mi aspecto ha cambiado.... Los cachacos no nos ven y el día que quieran encontrarnos les enseñaremos que las armas que nos llevamos del cuartel todavía disparan y que varios desertores de sus filas han unidos a este ejército hambriento y errante. Y recibirán toda la ira de Dios como ya la recibieron aquellos pueblos que se oponían a nuestro mandato. Así lo digo yo, San Gabriel de Yuraccancha, hijo de los apus y Jehová de los Ejércitos (*Tierra* 76). [57]

[55] *Tayta* means father in Quechua, so *taitallico* is loosely translated from Quechua to "my little señor," and in this context is condescending.
[56] *Hauycos* are avalanches.
[57] *Apus* are Andean gods.

He becomes part of nature, or even more powerful than nature, and is no longer a *wakcha*, because he has created his own family from the ashes of the destruction and violence. Incidentally, *ushpay*, or a sterile man like don Crispiniano in "El caballo jubilado" by Rosas, also means "ash" in Quechua. The previous inability to procreate, the ashes of society, are now being transformed into a possible future society. *Huaycos*, avalanches that tear through the mountainside destroying everything in their path and, as we will see in Zorrilla's novel, detain time, not allowing for movement from the past or toward the future, are no longer a barrier for the reborn San Gabriel. He and his community are like the foxes at the end of *Los zorros*: they are able to transgress temporal borders and geographical limits with ease, maintaining the fundamental characteristics of the Andean cosmovision while at the same time constructing new identitary paradigms that fit into contemporary visions of society.

The professor turned profit changes ashes into a powerful transformative force through the discourse of Christianity, which although it is associated with the violence and domination of the Conquest and of coloniality in general, is utilized here in a different manner. Castro redefines Christian ideals in a contemporary Andean light. San Gabriel himself tells the narrator that he, as a *cholo*, is a perfect replacement for the saint. When the professor takes on the position of San Gabriel, he does so by defining it on his own accord, as a *cholo*, "hijo de los apus," and as the god of migrant militant people. This final Christianity, with which Castro ends the story, is once again illustrative of Andean subversion of hegemonic discourses through cultural expressions.

A RESOLUTION OF THE PAST: *CARRETERA AL PURGATORIO*, ZEIN ZORILLA

Zein Zorrilla's novel *Carretera al purgatorio* (2003) represents a transition from one cycle to the next, like Arguedas's *Los zorros*. Nonetheless, while Arguedas represents the end of traditional literary representation of Andean culture that echoed the violent relationships put in place by the Conquest, leaving an open space for the creation of a new identity through literature from the perspective of the Andean cosmovision, Zorrilla's novel represents a different transition. The *wakcha* identity emblematic of the situation in which Andean society finds itself after Arguedas's death and throughout over a decade of a devastatingly bloody internal war comes to a head in *Carretera.* Here, the *wakcha* begins the novel literally in transit like in Rosas's "Temporal," stalled on a highway once again because of nature, this time because a *huayco* has destroyed the highway and made it impossible to move on. He is forced to look at the past and the future, changing his perspective so that the destruction of the *huayco* can be resolved and time can move forward again, yet in a different way. At the end of the novel, the *wakcha* protagonist recreates an Andean identity not only for himself, but for the future of all of those who also find themselves in an in-between place like he does. His decision marks the beginning of a new cycle in Andean literature in which the *wakcha* has found a new origin constructed in the present but with knowledge from the past.

The first line of the novel introduces Zorrilla's readers to the *wakcha* protagonist Ciro Sotomayor, the owner of an auto shop in Lima whose life oscillates between his drive to be successful and the pain of living in a lonely city, leaving him little time to contemplate the past or the future. However, a letter arrives at his door that causes the past to collide with the present, a letter that will change his life in unimaginable ways. The letter comes from Ingahuasi, the *hacienda* where he grew up; it explains that his father is very ill and requests the presence of his three children. At first Ciro considers

that it is another trick that his controlling father is playing on him and his siblings, but then he convinces himself that his father truly is sick, and that the three siblings should head towards Ingahuasi as soon as possible: “Aquel sobre barato era la trompeta de los antepasados que lo llamaban para rescatarlo del gólgota diario en que se había convertido el taller automotor. ¿Qué hacer?” (*Carretera* 16-17) Like in *Los zorros*, written language is the vehicle through which the Andean cosmovision is brought into the contemporary Andean identity.

Ciro welcomes the past as it rushes into the present, hoping that it will rescue him from the daily struggle that the city presents him, but his sister does not view the letter in the same way. She is the first of the two siblings that Ciro visits the next day, before he heads out on his trip to Ingahuasi. At this moment, Ciro represents Sanjinés’s categorization of the nostalgia of modernity while his sister is illustrative of that of the revolutionary. Ciro’s version of the present only involves the past, but his sister’s perspective of the present only allows the future to enter into account. For Helen, the past is not welcome in her present; in fact, it is threatening, and she prefers to have nothing to do with it. She chooses to consider herself an orphan rather than return to the past that Ingahuasi represents for her. She sends a message with Ciro for her father: “Por ejemplo decirle que estoy fuera del país. Que llevo una vida espléndida en Alemania. Puedes decirle que mi marido es un alemán y mi niña una muñeca rubia.” (*Carretera* 19) For her, even lies are better than having the past be part of her present.Yet even as she speaks, Ciro realizes that a separation of the past and the present are not possible. He leaves en route to his brother Marcos’s house, but before he departs, his sister leaves him with a piece of advice that will resound throughout Ciro’s journey in the remaining pages of the novel. “Cada uno tiene que acomodarse a su manera.” (*Carretera* 20) Her words could not be truer: as Ciro will find out, each person that he encounters on his journey has a

different perspective on their past, present and future, which come into play as each character struggles to find their own identity.

Ciro's next stop before setting out on his journey is to visit his brother, a revolutionary from the 1960s who, ironically, unlike his sister who has no room for the past in her present and future, sees no future for himself or his children because of his past. Marcos refuses to accompany Ciro on his journey, explaining to him that he has already received his inheritance in the threats that his father issued him the last time the two saw each other. "La próxima no será palo –sonríe Marcos imitando los gestos del padre--. Si no un tiro en la frente." (*Carretera* 22) For Marcos, the inheritance that revolutionaries like himself carry on into the present and future is violence and the promise of more violence in the future. His children are condemned to a future without anything because he pursued what he now considers delusions of the past. "Son hijos del sueño, nietos de la ruina. Eso son. Y con esa marca tendrán que labrarse un destino." (*Carretera* 25) Though expressed in a different way, he reiterates the sentiments with which his sister left Ciro: while his future is destroyed, his children must create their own destiny, their own future, by finding their own way, without anyone to create it for them. He leaves his brother with a message for his father: "Dile a *tu padre*... --Marcos traga saliva--. Que me has visto en la cárcel. ¿Ah? Condenado a perpetuidad, sin riesgo de fuga. ¿Ah? Dile que muera tranquilo." (*Carretera* 25) Leaving behind his sister without a past and his brother without a future, Ciro heads down the road to Ingahuasi to makes sense of his present.

As Zorrilla introduces his readers to his characters, we find that each one is in a different place in terms of their own personal perspective on time: Don Dagoberto is in the process of closing up a failing business that he maintained out of nostalgia and is starting a new one by paying his respects to the Virgin through presenting her with a fine

tapestry. Junior sits at a café and watches as his girlfriend Jessica coldly says her goodbyes, leaving him for a job opportunity in the interior of the country. Junior pleads with her, explaining that they can forget the past and live in the present. Still, Jessica is too preoccupied with the future to be able to understand the present. Junior compares her with a machine, unable to comprehend how she can focus on the future while they are still in the present. We are reminded don Ángel in *Los zorros*, a representative of technology and modernity whose identity seems incompatible with the traditions and world view of the Andean past. However, Jessica reiterates Ciro's siblings' sentiments: "Te digo que cada uno se marchará por su cuenta." (*Carretera* 33) Like don Ángel, Jessica will also realize that there is a place her future for the places and people of her past.

Even Lili, adoptive mother to her niece Reina, struggles with how the past affects the future in the negotiations for Reina's marriage. The reader encounters Lili and Reina in their future in-laws' house, discussing where the wedding will be held. While the groom's family argues for a wedding in Lima, Lili tries to convince them to hold the wedding in Ingahuasi, where both families are from. "¿Qué somos? Unos huancavelicanos en Lima, unas gentes de Ingahuasi. ¿No se dan cuenta de que en Lima sólo somos forasteros? ¿No significa nada para ustedes ser gente de Ingahuasi?" (*Carretera* 40) For Lili, the bride and groom's future should be consecrated in the community of their past, yet for the groom's family, their present relationships in Lima hold more importance for the future of the couple. In the end, the groom's parents cede to Lili's demands: the wedding will be held in Ingahuasi, where they all have their roots. Even though Reina agrees to the arrangement, she is not content. Getting married in Ingahuasi means first, that she must wait longer to get married, second, that they must travel during the treacherous rainy season to get to Ingahuasi, and third, that none of her

friends will be able to attend the ceremony. For Lili, though, to be recognized by the people of Ingahuasi as someone who is successful and has money means much more than getting married in the anonymity of the city. As she puts it, “En Lima somos nada. Unos cholitos de la sierra, gente de relleno. Nada más.” (*Carretera* 47)

After he receives the letter, Ciro’s past reveals itself in the present in yet another way when he comes face to face with Jessica at the first restaurant that the bus stops at in his journey to Ingahuasi. Not only did he and Jessica grow up together at Ingahuasi, they met up again when they were both in Lima and had a whirlwind relationship that ended before either could really explain why. Now, five years later, they find each other as Ciro determines to resolve his temporal identity. They exchange a few cordial words, then say goodbye at the restaurant, and each heads in his and her own direction, leaving their next chance meeting up to fate, but neither can predict that a *hauyco* will destroy the highway during the night and hold them in a sort of purgatory in which time has stopped and the past and future slip their way into the present in sometimes violent, sometimes nostalgic, yet always provocative way.

For Ciro, the *huayco* serves as a tool to stop time in order to allow him to process what he left behind in Lima and what he will encounter in Ingahuasi. It also permits him to meet people from his past and from his future who give him insight to his own personal struggles. One such person is the *hacendado*, or ranch owner, Arroyo. The morning after the *huayco*, Jessica, who is understandably frustrated by the pause in time as she awaits her new job and new future, elicits Ciro’s help to build a footbridge across the rushing stream that marks the *hauyco*’s path. Once it is built, they set out on their way into the woods to find a bus that will take them to their destinations, but the two get lost in the rain and the trees. They happen upon a man, who turns out to be the *hacendado* Arroyo, accompanied by his horse Kaiser. He invites the couple to join him inside to

warm up and introduces them to his wife. The old man recognizes Ciro's last name, and the conversation drifts from Arroyo's dealings with Ciro's brother Marcos to the *hacendado*'s wounded horse Kaiser. As Arroyo explains to his horse, "Te tienes que curar. Si te vas, ¿Qué será de mí?" (*Carretera* 80) we are reminded of don Crispiniano's horse in "El caballo jubilado" by Rosas. In both cases, the owners of the horses are men whose identity depends on their horse. Additionally, the identity that each associates with their horse is one that is related to the past that does not coincide with the future. In Arroyo's case, though, Kaiser has a large wound across his back. Thus, Kaiser does not embody the *wakcha* identity that Korilazo represents in "El caballo jubilado," but an extension of the *gamonalismo* lifestyle that Arroyo represents, suffering from a mortal wound and desperately and unsuccessfully being pulled into the present.

Although years have passed, Arroyo still holds on to the scraps of the way life used to be, before the Agrarian Reform that, for him, fatally destroyed his hopes as a land owner. He is unable to adapt to the present, as his wife explains to Jessica, which does not bode well for the horse's fate. In fact, at the end of the novel, two momentous events happen in the same scene: Arroyo and Ciro find each other again after the highway has been reconstructed and everyone has gone on their way: "Arroyo se aproxima con sus pupilas desteñidas, con su rostro tallado por el deterioro. Intenta hablar y los sonidos se fragmentan en su garganta… -Murió Kaiser- carraspea con esfuerzo--. Esta madrugada." (*Carretera* 179) With the loss of Kaiser, Arroyo's identitary existence has also ended. He, like don Crispiniano, has chosen an identity that is no longer pertinent in the creation of a new Andean identity. Yet Arroyo shakes the image out of his head and directs his perspective to his friend's injury. "Y déjeme echarle una mirada a esa herida. Así se va totalmente curado. Un hombre nuevo, un recién nacido." (*Carretera* 179) In fact, seeing as Ciro appears to have been cured from the same medicine that Arroyo used on Kaiser, it

seems as the "new" Ciro has been born as a result of Kaiser's death. Now that the past is in the past where it belongs, and not the present, like it was before Ciro's journey through purgatory, Ciro is able to construct a new identity for himself.

> Una oleada de viento levanta los papeles de las cunetas de la carretera. Ciro cierra los ojos. Su camino nace bajo sus plantas, ahora lo sabe. Es un camino arduo y largo, nítido y recto, y pasa por Ingahuasi. –Claro que vamos.—El viejo Arroyo se apoya en él--. Tengo que irme bien curado. (*Carretera* 179)

Ciro realizes that Ingahuasi and everything that it signifies must be part of his journey. By negating it he would negate part of his identity, and through recognizing it, and Arroyo's place in history, he can move forward confidently.

Before he can do so though, Ciro must travel back through his past, sorting out his role in the destruction and violence of *gamonalismo* in order to figure out his present identity. Without the past he cannot be part of the present. It is for that reason that he lived in a purgatory-like situation in Lima with his auto shop before being confronted with purgatory itself on the highway destructed by the *huayco*. The most significant relationship of the past for Ciro, because it is the closest to him sentimentally, is his relationship with Jessica. The two see their possible future mirrored in the past of Arroyo and his wife, who left her studies as a doctor in Argentina to marry Arroyo. In fact, she resolved to follow her father's will, seeing that the alternative would mean disrespect to her family and possible vengeance on Arroyo's part if he were to be humiliated by a denial of his marriage proposal. Later, the Agrarian Reform takes hold across the country, and she comes to realize that he is a man that refuses to change with the times; she is drawn down with him, forced to leave her profession and support the family by curing the illnesses and maladies of those who used to work for them. Jessica realizes the same as memories of her and Ciro's relationship and visions of a possible future with him pass through her thoughts. In an oniric sequence that occurs after Jessica and Carmela chat

about the old woman's life and the effects of the Agrarian Reform on the *hacienda*, Jessica and Ciro fall into the roles of Arroyo and his wife. Jessica hesitates though, arguing with Ciro that time has changed them.

> Ahora comprueba que Ciro permanece encapsulado en una celdilla del pasado. ¿Es así? ¿O lo está juzgando con un ojo afinado en la contemplación de agentes vendedores del último estilo? En cualquier caso, un abismo los distancia (*Carretera* 99).

At that point in time, Jessica's thoughts could not be truer; while her present is future-based, Ciro's present has its foundation in the past. Ciro relates to his past, yet he does not understand it. In order to free himself from his past, he must not only come to terms with it, but also fully comprehend it.

All the while, the people he meets on his paused journey through purgatory question their own ideas of the past forcing Ciro to rethink his ideas. He hears that there is a group of men from Ingahuasi, and, considering that they come from the same place, rushes to say hello to them, hoping that he would recognize them, or at least recognize something from his past that may tell him more about his present identity. The scene in *Los zorros* between el Tarta and the fox from below comes to mind. Recognition is necessary for the creation of identity, and Ciro hopes that recognition from people from his past will give him the pieces necessary to reconstruct his identity. However, the *comuneros* from Ingahuasi do not share the same perspective as Ciro. At first, when they find that he can speak Quechua and has an appreciation for the same music that they do, they begin to accept him, leaning towards the recognition that Ciro hopes for. Ciro, though, makes the mistake of offering to pay for the next bottle of alcohol, asking who will go get it if he provides the money. For the Ingahuasi actions like that can only come from a *misti*, someone who was born into the dominant side of a system of domination through servitude. Coupled with a comment that Ciro makes about the kerosene they are

drinking, mistaking the bottle for a champagne bottle, the request is enough to set the Ingahuasi *comuneros* against him, and block any possible recognition between them. Lili, the bride-to-be's adoptive mother, comes to his rescue, explaining to him the error that he made. "Ya te habrás dado cuenta. Los padres de esos muchachos eran tus sirvientes, pero ellos ya no lo son. No puedes buscarlos y ordenar." (*Carretera* 136) The past is not part of the present in the way that Ciro had considered it to be.

Nonetheless, a complex story from the past is hidden behind Lili's actions too. As Lili and Ciro talk, she wonders if she should bring up the fact that lived in Ciro's house and raised him from an infant. He does not seem to remember her, and she questions the validity of bringing up the past into the present. "¿Gana algo remover los escombros; con agitar el polvo y refrescar imágenes ya sepultadas?... Sí; porque una parte de su vida había transcurrido en Ingahuasi." (*Carretera* 114) Her internal thoughts upon reuniting with Ciro emphasize an important part of the struggle with Andean identity. While the past is painful and violent, we cannot ignore it, as Jessica attempts to do. We must understand it as part of our history that, while it is history, is a part of our present. Lili alludes to her role in Ciro's life, but does not tell him specifically who she is. She prefers to maintain a small part of her past and thus her present identity for herself in an attempt to conserve the power she has gained in the present:

> ¿Bartola? ¿Tú eres Bartola? Lili vuelve el rostro a las sombras... ¿Va a decirle, sí, soy Bartola, y la distancia que he recorrido para alejarme de aquellos tiempos son nada frente tu aparición? Vuelve a sentir la angustia, la humillación de la doméstica... Esos zapatos sucios [de Ciro] serán su vergüenza eterna. Quiere gritar: ¡Quítatelos, los voy a limpiar! Pero un río desconocido ruge en sus venas, insufla sangre en sus mejillas, hierro caliento en el vacío de sus huesos. Vuelve a dejar atrás Ingahuasi, ahora el Ingahuasi de sus recuerdos. (*Carretera* 116)

The unknown feeling that she feels running through her veins, the same river or *lloqlla* that Don Diego refers to in *Los zorros*, is one of agency, of being able to make her own

decisions and create her own identity. Just as Ciro will find out later, the past is an important part of one's identity, so long as one allows it to remain in the past instead of invading the present.

When another character from the past, Conce, the tractor operator at the *huayco* who also worked on the Sotomayor *hacienda*, tells Ciro the true story of his father and most importantly, the fact that Ciro's father died some eight months ago, Ciro's previous plans slip back into chaotic feelings of loss and lack of direction. He questions why he is on this journey in the first place, but Conce discerns the importance of Ciro's search even when Ciro does not. He tells Ciro: "Tienes que entrar a Los Ángeles y hacerte conocer. También es tu pueblo. ¿Si no de qué pueblo tú vas a ser?" (*Carretera* 126) Conce comprehends that everyone needs a place of origin. If not, we all remain *wakchas* of the present without direction and without an identity. He urges Ciro to create his own identity for his present and for his future by claiming a past for his own.

Ciro, though, is not as convinced of his need to return to Ingahuasi. He begs the busdriver don Dagoberto to take him back to Lima. But don Dago refuses, sensing Ciro's fear of confronting his past. He thinks to himself: "Éste no parece un Sotomayor. De lejos parecía un hombre formado, pero no. Ha recibido una mala noticia y ya quiere correr." (*Carretera* 138) Don Dagoberto takes it upon himself to makes sure Ciro does not continue deceiving himself about his past: "No. Para ti no hay camión, ni nada. Me daría vergüenza ayudarte a escaper." (138) He forces Ciro to move forward toward his past instead of backward into the same purgatory that he has been living in Lima. For Ciro, coming closer to his past means having the ability to move into the future as a new man with a new concept of self.

Ciro's search for new facets of his identity climaxes along with the action of the novel. He passes the night speaking with Conce, and as morning dawns, bits of the

previous night's conversation pass through his thoughts: "Un pobre mandón eres, Sotomayor." (*Carretera* 152) "¿Adónde vas a ir, Niño?... Ingahuasi no hay. Papá Gamaniel ya no hay." (153) Ciro starts to realize that living in the past is not an option any more, just as Puma, the driver of the fanciest, newest bus on their side of the *hauyco* loses patience and gives the almost constructed pass over the *huayco* a try. He pulls into the mud, and then backs out again. The *huayco* seems to have grown to dangerous proportions along with Ciro's confusion concerning his future and his past: "Me regresaré a Lima, olvidaré todo, que he nacido en estas tierras, que te he conocido, viejo Conce." (153) The movement of Puma's bus echoes Ciro's thoughts. Finally, the bus lurches forward into the *huayco*: "Eres una momia del pasado, Sotomayor, un misti. No encajas en este tiempo." (153) The onlookers lose sight of the bus for a moment; then they realize that it has been caught by the rushing waters of the *huayco*. "¡Ahora rescatarlo es imposible! ¡Pobres gentes!" (154) Like Ciro's thoughts, the bus sinks into the abyss of the *huayco* just as the protagonist falls, injuring his head and losing consciousness. Ciro awakes a few moments or hours later; he is not sure of the time. However, something inside of him has changed, and now, after the bus accident, he realizes its magnitude: "¿Te has salvado? --insiste la niña. --Así es – Ciro traga saliva--. Me he salvado." (156) Ciro does not refer to being saved from the bus accident, like the girl who questions him asks; rather, he refers to his new perspective on time. For him, the past is resolved, and although it will always be an important part of his identity, its interference in the present is no longer such. Past and future are able to coexist in the present. When Arroyo refers to Ciro as a new man who has recently been born, this new perspective on time is the object of his reference. Our "new" protagonist does not rush to meet his bus to get to his destination. Instead he stays behind contemplating the present, something that he was unable to do before.

> Ciro echa la bolsa al hombro y se despide. La carretera reverbera con sus guijarros relucientes y su polvo sosegado. La brisa arrastra unos evoltorios de caramelos, los envases plásticos de aguas gaseosas, las cáscaras de naranjas cortadas a cuchilla, y otras cáscaras arrancadas a mordiscos, una cajetilla de cigarros donde alguien anotó unos teléfonos para no olvidarlos. No hay ruidos extraños en la quebrada, sólo el viento que silba sobre el remoto zumbido de sus motores, y el río que murmura *sus siempre nuevas historias* (*Carretera* 178, my emphasis).

We are reminded of the *lloqlla* in *Los zorros*, but even moreso of the prophetic ending to Arguedas's *Todas las sangres*. In Arguedas's earlier novel, the representative of the Peruvian government comments:

> Tenemos que evitar que el Perú se desarrolle, hay que seguir conteniéndolo… --¿Y ese ruido, presidente? --¿Qué ruido Palalo? --¿No lo siente? Atienda. Es como un río subterráneo que empezara su creciente… La kurku oyó también el ruido; don Bruno lo oyó; don Fermín y Matildo lo escucharon con temeroso entusiasmo (*Todas las sangres* 456).

The strength of the Andean identity pushes from the margins of hegemonic discourses and makes itself heard. Arguedas's river and Rosas's wind combine to represent the power of a continuously renewing force of the creation of a contemporary Andean identity.

Zorrilla tells Ciro's story, and with it, he tells the story of the *wakchas* of the generation of the 70s and 80s. After the death of Arguedas and the publication of *Los zorros*, Andean identity found itself in a void. At the beginning of *Carretera*, Ciro lives in Lima in ignorance of the past and of the future, only living for the present, without roots, and without hope for the creation of something new in the future. The same could be said of the masses of people who migrated to Lima in the decades following Arguedas's death, first due to economic hardships caused by the crisis that followed Velasco's agrarian reforms, and then later, in order to escape the violence of the internal war. The end of the novel presents Zorrilla's readers with a different Ciro, a Ciro who has resolved the violence and incongruencies of his past, decided which fragments of that

past to carry on with him into the present, and he experiences his present instead of rushing through it, knowing that a future of hope awaits him.

CONCLUSION

In the years between Arguedas's death and the conclusion of the internal war in 1992 in Peru, Andean literary production experiences an intense shift in perspective. Just as Arguedas anticipates in *Los zorros*, with him, a phase of literary production ends. Among others, writers such as Rosas, Castro and Zorrilla struggle to fill the void that Arguedas leaves behind. Be that as it may, this generation of writers does not start from scratch. Although Arguedas may have ended one literary cycle with his announced suicide and preplanned posthumous publication of *Los zorros,* he leaves "the foxes" free to carry on an Andean cosmovision in Andean literary production. In fact, as Arguedas alludes to at the beginning of *Los zorros*, the foxes have been a critical part of humanity for 2500 years. Writers that follow Arguedas prove that "the foxes" continue to be an necessary part of Andean culture; even when communication loses its efficacy and language is corrupted through the effects of migration to the coast from the *sierra*, the fundamental aspects of the Andean world view continue to contour the contemporary Andean identity.

The most preeminent example of this identity in the literary production of the transition period is the idea of the *wakcha*. Arguedas links communication to a recognition of Andean identity, which goes hand in hand with the recognition that is inherent in the Andean concept of community. Family and the community are a source of recognition in the Andean culture; those who cannot contribute to the community in some way, whether providing shelter on their land or through providing labor for the good of

the community, are considered *wakchas*. While the traditional application of the term is no longer pertinent in contemporary society where capitalism determines recognition, writers during this transition period reappropriate the idea of the *wakcha* in accordance with contemporary Andean views.

In Rosas's *Al filo del rayo*, we follow the *wakcha's* trajectory as dialogue between characters complicates the dominant cultural discourse, like Arguedas does with the novelistic genre itself in *Los zorros*. In "Temporal en la cuesta de los difuntos," the ultimate *wakcha* is born in transit, and from death comes new life. Rosas purposefully places this story as the first in his collection, establishing this new *wakcha* as the representative of the pluricultural present of the Peruvian nation that is also linked to the Andean past. The *wakcha* in "El caballo jubilado," don Crispiniano's horse Korilazo, is severed violently from the dominance of the *gamonalismo* of the past, yet we are left with a desperate feeling of loss, even as the *wakcha* barrels feverishly toward the unknown future. The split from the past, albeit a violent past wrought with domination, nonetheless produces a void in the present. This violent history moves closer and closer to the present reality in which Rosas writes with the last story of the collection, "Al filo del rayo." Here, the idea of the *wakcha* becomes the central point from which the Senderistas base their ideology, claiming that the violence they use in the present is linked to the violence of the *gamonalismo* of the past. However, the young narrator of the story points out that the Senderistas do not adopt the *wakcha* identity because of the ideology upon which the group is based; they do so because the Andean culture is an inherent part of their world view. History may carry the violence of the past into the present, yet it is unable to destroy the Andean identity. It takes a marginal perspective, like that of the boy who narrates the story or like that of the *camarada* Flor to reconstruct the fragments of such an identity.

In *Tierra de pishtacos,* Dante Castro's characters all enunciate from a non-place, a place from which, like Rosas's *wakchas*, they are able to reveal the inner workings of the modern society. Castro begins by underlining the folkloric and subversive origins of Andean discourse in "Demonio del monte" by linking his story within a story within another story to Adolfo Vienrich's *Fábulas quechuas,* a project of recompilation of oral fables told in the Andes aimed to destabilize official literary discourse from within literary discourse itself. Castro chooses to retell the origin myth of the deer, which not only reestablishes Andean mythical origins in a subversive context, but also links the pre-Colonial discourses to socialism (through Vienrich) and then to contemporary literary discourses. Origins, recognition and thus the idea of the *wakcha* are pertinent throughout because they are all part of the same discourse. "Pishtaco" follows the same logic, subverting the official written account of the events leading to the massacre of Uchuraccay by rewriting it through the contemporary Andean cosmovision, allowing the Andean community in which the events took place agency in their own destiny. The *pishtaco* represents an archetype of the Andean identity that the community renegotiates in a contemporary context. Finally, "La guerra del arcángel San Gabriel" reiterates the subversion by way of superstitious or religious beliefs, incorporating the concept of the *wakcha* into the violence of the internal war, like Rosas, although here, the *wakcha* identity comes to represent the true leadership and education of the town, not in spite of, but because he is *cholo.*[58]

In Zein Zorrilla's *Carretera al purgatorio,* the concept of the *wakcha* culminates through the protagonist Ciro Sotomayor. Ciro's character portrays a facet of the *wakcha*

[58] Although Andean identity, through literary production and otherwise, will not take hold of the *cholo* identity as a subverted/subversive positive signification until later, as we will see in the following chapter with theorists such as José Guillermo Nugent in his *Laberinto de la choledad* (1992) and writers like Jorge Vargas Prado, especially in the short story "Kunan cristo," it is important to note that literary production in this time period touches on this idea.

identity distinct from that of the baby *wakcha* in Rosas's "Temporal." Here, instead of beginning his life as a *wakcha* and being given the recognition to become a part of the community, Ciro begins his life, and the novel, believing that he has an origin. He does not realize his *wakcha* state until a *huayco* pauses time and forces him to truly recreate the past that he took for granted, a past that does not exist in his present. The concept of the *wakcha* is the technology through with Zorrilla brings the fissures of a chronological historical discourse as represented by hegemonic or national version of history to light. He presents his readers with a contemporary Andean version of modernity in which the past and the future are both viable, contrary to the traditional discourses of modernity that only allow either a perspective of time that incorporates the past into the present or a revolutionary view of time that only allows the future and the present to be viewed together. Zorrilla's *wakcha* allows us to see the past, the present and the future through the lens of the Andean cosmovision.

Arguedas's *Los zorros* begins a cycle of subversion of official discourses in order to arrive at new Andean identitary paradigms by way of elements vital to the Andean cosmovision. Arguedas begins the cycle by destabilizing the literary genre of the novel and through stripping language of its significance, leaving the recognition and the mythology of the Andean past as the only basis upon which to construct a contemporary Andean identity through literature. In *Al filo del rayo*, Rosas utilizes the traditional narrative structure as a basis upon which to subvert the official discourse through dialogue, echoing Bakhtin's idea of dialogic discourse through the inherent inclusive/exclusive nature of Quechua. Castro transforms official written discourse and its assumptions of Andean religion and superstitions. Those characteristics that were once used to rationalize domination of indigenous peoples in the Andes serve as starting points for the agency of the characters in *Tierra de pishtacos*. Finally, Zorrilla provides a

different Andean perspective on time that allows for the past, present and future to all be viewed through one lens.

After the discourses available within the expressions of *indigenismo* are exhausted and language is taken to the precipice of its significance, writers in this transition period after the publication of *Los zorros* provide the necessary steps in the direction of the creation of a contemporary Andean identity through literature. They begin to pick up the fragments of the Andean past and fit them together, pulling Andean cultural practices out of the nostalgic past and into the present, making a way for their future. Rosas, Castro and Zorrilla move away from the dichotomies inherent in the *indigenista* literary expression that haunted Arguedas and were reflected in his texts; the writers propose a different perspective through dialogue, communication, recognition and transformation through an Andean point of view that allows Andean subjects agency and power as they remain constantly in motion, moving toward the future.

Chapter 2: Reappropriating Space and Language through Literature: Contemporary Andean Narrative

INTRODUCTION

In *The Mirror and the Killer Queen,* Gabriele Schwab looks at the act of reading and at the institution of literature itself as border operations, or actions that "leave home" and "bring home" at the same time (Schwab ix). Traditionally, Schwab explains, literature has been seen as a mirror that reflects the world, yet does not change the reader himself in any way. Schwab also perceives literature as a mirror, but as a mirror that allows us to see ourselves from the outside, as both Self and Other, similar to the looking-glass in Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* (Schwab ix). In other words, the mirror itself, just as literature, is a technology of transference and contact. While many other forms of cultural contact exist, what gives literature such a crucial position as a mirror of connection and transmission is the fact that this mirror is made up of language (Schwab x). Hence, language becomes the technology through which the Other may come into contact with the Self, and vice versa, and it reveals through its refractions the relationships and structure of society.

Although Schwab's observations on literature can be applied to any literary expression, I find this idea of language as a mirror that facilitates literary border operations especially pertinent with regards to contemporary Andean narrative. In this chapter, I analyze how literature written in the past decade (2000 – 2010) in the Peruvian Andes, specifically from Cusco, utilizes, reinterprets and reappropriates not only an inherently Andean language in a contemporary context through literature, but also inherently Andean spaces, time, and culture as a commodity. While the *wakcha* and

migratory identity of the Peruvian Andes of the 80s and 90s calls for the analysis of authors from distinct origins with ties to the region (see Chapter 1), the literature analyzed in the present chapter refocuses itself on its origins, albeit in a new way. Therefore, I focus on two authors who are both born and raised in Cusco, Braulio Mirano Sucñier (1983-) and Jorge Alejandro Vargas Prado (1987-). Both authors' various works center on the theme of Andean identity in a contemporary context.

In the previous chapter I have analyzed the works of three authors who exemplify the transitional period between Arguedas's last posthumously published novel, *Los zorros*, and contemporary Andean literature. I propose that Arguedas begins a new cycle with *Los zorros* that takes on literary expression through an inherently Andean cosmovision. The writers that directly follow Arguedas do the same, employing the idea of the *wakcha*, or orphan, to represent the social situation in which they find themselves, their country, and Andean literary expression. In this chapter, I continue to trace the trajectory to contemporary Andean narrative proposing that contemporary literary expression continues the trend initiated by Arguedas in *Los zorros*, reappropriating language, time and space through an inherently Andean and contemporary lens, creating a new contemporary Andean identity through literature.

Previous studies have outlined the trajectory of Cusqueñan narrative,[59] but as Juan Alberto Osorio points out in his own analysis of the state of contemporary Cusqueñan literature, Cusqueñan literature should not be defined in terms of the literary generations that have been formed in Lima (Osorio 123). For many, Osorio elaborates, the distinct generations of literary expression in Cusco have been conceived as slower-to-develop versions of their Limeño counterparts. He proposes his own stratification of Cusqueñan literature into generations and lists members of each generation and the characteristics that determine such categorization, but Osorio acknowledges that this proposed organization is incomplete because it only covers formal narrative and poetry published in Cusco in Spanish.[60]

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[59] Mario Pantoja outlines the trajectory of Cusqueñan narrative in "La narrativa cusqueña," an article published in *Crónicas urbanas*, an academic journal produced by Cusco's own Centro Guaman Poma de Ayala. For Pantoja, Cusqueñan narrative begins with El Inca Garcilaso's *Comentarios reales*. He traces a line from this first example of the budding genre of the Latin American short story of the time of the Conquest to the narrative of the 90s, underscoring the region's tendency towards social protest and the portrayal of violence. After El Inca Garcilaso, Pantoja names Narciso Aréstegui's narration of a murder in Cusco, *El Padre Horán* (1848), the first Peruvian novel (Pantoja 199). It appeared in Lima's *El Comercio* in segments and was quickly censured and prohibited because it was deemed a social critique (Pantoja 200). The most famous Cusqueñan novel of the nineteenth century, Clorinda Matto de Turner's *Aves sin nido* (1889) would appear forty years later. This novel is most commonly linked to the *indigenismo* movement, and is considered by many to be the first Peruvian novel (See Chapter 3 for an in depth analysis of *Aves sin nido* with respect to Cusqueñan identity.) (200). After Matto de Turner, Pantoja explains that publication of Cusqueñan narrative was intermittent at best (200), mentioning publications throughout the years such as Lisandro Calleri's *Kori Champi* (1925), Alfonso Latorre's *En la noche* (1958), and Ruben Sueldo Guevara's *Los agrarios* (1960) that have been important to Cusqueñan narrative. The decades of the 80s and the 90s have been the most prolific in terms of publication. In the 80s, a group of writers including Luis Nieto Degregori, Mario Guevara Paredes and Enrique Rosas Paravicino (see the Introduction for a discussion of Degregori and Guevara Paredes's works, and Chapter 1 for an in depth analysis of Rosas Paravicino's) all published numerous collections of short stories and novels. In the 90s two more narrative writers, Juan Alberto Osorio and Jaime Pantigozo Montes emerged on the Cusqueñan literary scene. Unfortunately though, Pantoja fails to clarify his definition of Cusqueñan narrative or his choice of narrators for his article, stating at the end, "Desde luego, a la luz más transparente, los que se han mencionado son los narradores de una realidad trascendida en el contexto latinoamericano." (206)

[60] The criteria for previous outlines of the history and trajectory of Cusqueñan literature seem to be arbitrarily assigned or suffer from large oversights at best in terms of literature written by marginal sectors of the population, like literature in Quechua or by women. Aside from such oversights, neither of the two articles on contemporary Cusqueñan literature mention, for chronological incongruencies in the publishing of her work and their articles, the young Cusqueñan prose writer and anthropologist, Karina Pachecho Medrano (1971-). Pacheco is considered one of the foremost narrative writers in Peru in the recent years.

Previous outlines of Cusqueñan literary production focus solely on production in Spanish, supporting Osorio's claim that Cusqueñan literature is seen only in the light of its Limeñan contemporaries. Quechua literary production from Cusco does exist, although the majority is poetry, not narrative. While original narrative in Quechua has been published in areas other than Cusco,[61] depending on the parameters of the category of narrative, we may consider the only narrative in Quechua to be produced in Cusco as the autobiography/testimony of Gregorio Condori Mamani and his wife Asunta Quispe Huamán (1982), compiled and translated from Quechua to Spanish by Ricardo Valderrama Fernández and Carmen Escalante Gutiérrez. The genre of the testimony, though, has been the subject of controversy among scholars especially in reference to the field to which it pertains: anthropologists claim it cannot be assumed as "truth" because of its literary leanings, and literary critics question the artistic intentions of the "authors." Condori Mamani's autobiography is therefore doubly marginal in that it is written in Quechua and is an orally recorded testimony later transcribed and translated into "literature."

In order to understand the path that contemporary Cusqueñan literature has followed after the publication of *Los zorros*, we must first understand why, if literary expression was being produced through the lens of the Andean cosmovision, was poetry, yet not narrative, being produced in Quechua. This is one of the questions that Zevallos

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Her first novel, *La voluntad del molle*, was published in 2006, followed by two more novels, *No olvides nuestros nombres* (2009) and *La sangre, el polvo, la nieve* (2010), and a collection of short stories, *Alma alga*, also published in 2010. Her narrative deals with many of the concerns of contemporary Peru, especially those members of her generation that grew up with the background of the violence of the internal war: political violence and racism set the stage for plots centered on the family structure. I analyze her texts in depth in Chapter 3 of this dissertation.

[61] José Oregón Morales (Huancavelica, 1941-) published a collection of short stories titled *Loro qulluchi* ("Exterminio de loros", 1994), Porfirio Meneses Lazón (Huanta 1915-2009) has a collection of six original stories called *Achikay willakuna* ("Cuentos del amanecer" 1998), and Macedonio Villafán Broncano (Callejón de Huaylas, 1949) has been recognized for his short story *Apu Kolkijirka* (1998).

Aguilar poses in his analysis of marginal Peruvian literature, *Las provincias contraatacan* (2009): "¿Por qué escogieron la poesía que es el género literario menos leído en castellano?" (177) One possibility that Zevallos Aguilar offers is that Quechua narrative is perceived as foreign territory because it is made up in its majority by testimony and transcriptions of oral traditions. In other words, narrative in Quechua has been seized by third parties with various utilitarian goals, the most common being the preservation of a cultural legacy (Zevallos 177). As we will see later, hegemonic discourses have long taken possession of marginal ones, especially with such discourses that concern national identity and the commodification of this identity in the international market. In light of the literary trends in Cusco outlined above, Zevallos Aguilar's argument holds true. Narrative in Quechua in Cusco is minimal to non-existent. However, Zevallos Aguilar's argument is based on a traditionally binary Western perspective of Andean literature.

Arguedas's *Los zorros* proves to us that a binary definition of Peru as Andean/*criollo*, highland/coastal, oral/written or Spanish/Quechua is no longer valid. Arguedas subverts the historically Western technology of literature, and more specifically the genre of the novel, through an Andean perspective (See Chapter 1). Language, the foundational structure of *Los zorros*, is inherently Andean, although the novelistic genre is a Western construction. With *Los zorros*, Arguedas ends a cycle that many literary critics and even writers still hang on to even today. In this chapter I rewrite the trajectory that literary criticism has outlined for Cusqueñan literary production, specifically in reference to narrative. To say that narrative production in Cusco does not exist because it has been made foreign by its appropriation by hegemonic discourses like the State cannot be the solution, and, in fact, stating such a conclusion strengthens the power of such hegemonic discourses.

I propose here, that instead of dividing literature into Quechua versus Spanish or any other exclusionary binary opposition, we analyze literary expression within the context of its production. A short visit to Cusco today would present us with such context. Cusco is a liminal city; its inhabitants dexterously traverse its linguistic, cultural and geographical borders speaking Quechua at one moment, Spanish in the next, and then English in the next. They manage technology through cybercafés and cell phones, speak to their grandparents in Quechua about the latest gossip in international pop culture, and speak to tourists in English about the millenary past. It would only follow that contemporary narrative of the region reflects the cultural context in which it is produced. Contemporary Cusqueñan narrative resists dichotomous characterizations, and instead can be observed constantly moving towards the limits of poetry and prose, fiction and essay, dreams and reality, and Quechua and Spanish, reappropriating the space of narrative and literary language in a contemporary Andean context.

Two perspectives on modernity allow us to better conceive contemporary literary trends in Cusco. The first comes from Javier Sanjinés's *Rescoldos del pasado* (2009). Sanjinés uses the migrant characters in Arguedas's novels to explain that even though one may install himself in a new space modified to his image and likeness, he always carries a *rescoldo del pasado,* or an ember of the past that obliges him to look at reality from a different perspective than the forward-looking, rectilinear perspective of modernity (Sanjinés 1). In other words, the remote past is a resource of the present (6), an "absolute present." This "absolute present" compares to two "modern" perspectives on time. The first he calls the "experience of the past," which is the perspective that dominates the conservative mentality. The "experience of the past" reflects a continuity of the past into the present without ruptures or breaks. The "horizon of expectation," on the other hand, is the future made present, which is linked to more of a revolutionary

mentality in which the future connects with the present, pushing history forward and inviting us to participate in a utopia of revolution and change (Sanjinés 14). In the "horizon of expectation," the past is a complete totality that cannot be changed (Sanjinés 14). These two categories, according to Sanjinés, are not natural divisions; rather, they are related to social and political categorizations (16).

The "absolute present," on the other hand, is connected to a new representation of reality that Sanjinés calls "catachrestic." Catachrestic appropriation allows traditionally oppressed social sectors of society to begin to rename their reality, appropriating and rearticulating metaphoric-symbolic constructions of nationality (Sanjinés 10). As Sanjinés explains, "No se trata de recuperar el viejo proyecto nacional, de verlos ahora 'desde abajo,' sino de forjar un nuevo proyecto…visto desde sus nuevas equilibradas coordenadas espacio-temporales." (33) This spatio-temporal resource subverts the model of modernization, not surprisingly, through language (36). In this chapter, I analyze Mirano's and Vargas's works as representatives of the trend in contemporary Cusqueñan literature wherein writers utilize literary language to subvert literature itself within its own linguistic system. Unlike the novel of the past which was linked to State definitions of modernity and a conservative historical perspective, contemporary writers in Cusco have access to the past and the future in their "absolute literary present."

José Tamayo's article "La modernidad cusqueña" provides us with a similar image of modernity in Cusco. For Tamayo, Cusqueñan modernity does not follow the conventional definition adapted from non-Andean areas (10). Modernity requires a transformation of *existing* scales of values (Tamayo 8); therefore, "Andean modernity," as Tamayo elucidates, is so specified that it cannot fit into the conventional definition (10). Cusco's state of modernity is always a modernity mixed with tradition (8) that not only receives modern influences from the outside, but that also reprocesses the

significance of that which is modern from within its own categories (12). In other words, Cusco's modernity is a filter that allows only that which is compatible with its own values and paradigms to pass through. I consider that contemporary Cusqueñan narrative employs a similar filtering technique, effectively creating new definitions of space, language and literature based upon contemporary Andean identities.

Both Tamayo and Sanjinés underscore a very important issue in the concept of modernity, and thus in literary language. This issue is the involvement of the State, or the State's adoption of literature and the discourse of modernity through literature for its own means. In *Foundational Fictions* (1991), Doris Sommer looks at the inseparability of politics from literature, especially in the peak years of the development of nation-states. She states that, "romance and republic were often connected through the authors who were preparing national projects through prose fiction and implementing foundational fictions through legislative or military campaigns." (Sommer 7) However, it is not just that politicians were also writers (or vice versa) and that their job descriptions were not easily divided. The link between literature and the State was (and is) much more profound, Sommer suggests:

> It is possible that the pretty lies of national romance are similar strategies to contain the racial, regional, economic and gender conflicts that threatened the development of new Latin American nations. After all, these novels were part of a general bourgeois project to hegemonize a culture in formation (Sommer 29).

The underlying hegemonic project of literature was its strongest asset in the times of national novels, and its legacy flourishes even today as secondary schools continue to utilize these novels as a source of local history and literary pride (Sommer 4). As Sommer observes, these novels are sometimes anthologized in school readers, or even dramatized in plays, films and television series. They are many times as plainly identifiable as nation anthems (4).

Contemporary Andean writers are not immune to the inseparability of literature and politics. It is exactly this recognition of how literature and language create identity that leads them to rearticulate hegemonic spaces of language and literature thereby creating inherently Andean discourses of identity and nation. Gabriele Schwab's concept of language as the medium through which cultural contact occurs, revealing through its refractions the way that society is structured, goes hand in hand with Homi Bhabha's theories on nation and narration. Bhabha explains that there is a supplementary space of marginality in which counternarratives create nationness. In other words, the liminality between modern progress and archaic timelessness creates a space where the diasporic or marginal parts of the nation supplement nationness through cultural difference. In the case of a contemporary Andean identity, literary language serves as the catalyst that allows writers to produce counternarratives that evoke and erase the nation's totalizing boundaries. These writers confront not only the hegemonic discourses of modernity, but also the archaic spaces that such discourses have relegated to the past. By questioning and rewriting that which has been ingrained in national cultural discourse and that which has been cast into the archaic past, writers from the margins, like contemporary Cusqueñan writers, are able to highlight the underlying structure of nation that is overlooked or taken for granted by many. In Bhabha's words:

> To write the story of the nation requires that we articulate that archaic ambivalence that informs modernity. We may begin by questioning that progressive metaphor of modern social cohesion – *the many as one* – shared by organic theories of the holism of culture and community, and by theorists who treat gender, class, or race as radically 'expressive' social totalities ("DissemiNation" 294).

Through language and text, contemporary Andean writers are making the structure of the nation visible, therefore adding a supplement to the discourse of the nation. They are not

negating its structure; they are renegotiating its boundaries to include spaces, language and identity that were previously not considered part of the nation.

THE POWER OF CHICHA: BRAULIO MIRANO

Braulio Mirano Sucñier (Cusco, 1983 -) consciously works on reappropriating space, language, and literature through his cultural projects, both literary and otherwise.[62] Mirano has served as a columnist for *Lucha indígena*, a news periodical advocating for the rights of indigenous people in Peru and throughout the Andean region. He has also been a member of *Watanay*, and is now a member of the *Sociedad, privada de arte*, both artistic collectives focused on cultural development in Cusco. His publications to date include two collections of poetry, *Celajes asimétricos* (2003) and *Desertáme Aovar* (2007), a poetic essay titled *Chocarrera Poética Psicanalítica* (2008), an experimental work, *Torrente Sanguineo Galáctico* (2008), and the collection of twelve short essays that I analyze in this chapter, *Chicha. Brío de las canteras* (2009). Additionally, Mirano has various unpublished essays that I will analyze in this chapter. He has also dabbled in other artistic expressions and has participated in various graphics art shows including "Inka Garcilasso: un pretexto para hablar de nosotros," which opened in April of 2009 and is now on permanent exhibition in the Casa Garcilaso in Cusco.

Mirano's collection of essays on *chicha* reappropriates the space of the *chichería*, a space traditionally perceived as archaic, into a contemporary Andean identity. [63] [64] In the prologue of his collection, Mirano explains that he, together with other members of

[62] Mirano studied law and the Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad in Cusco and has worked as an educator at the Colegio Pukllasunchis also in Cusco, a community association concerned with education reform whose mission is to promote respect of diversity and a social coexistence based on reciprocity and mutual enrichment between individuals and groups.
[63] *Chicha* is a drink made from fermented corn and associated with the Andean culture.
[64] A *chichería* is the place where *chicha* is served.

the collective *Sociedad, privada de arte*, are reclaiming *chicha* as an element of cultural resistance, and the *chichería* as a procreative Andean space, a live space, or a type of popular cultural center (*Chicha* 3). He achieves this resignification through demonstrating the transcendent characteristics of the ritual and the space it occupies, linking it to the survival of an Andean culture, but not overlooking its ability to adapt and transform itself in accordance with its contemporary context. For Mirano, *chicha*, much like the structure of the Andean family, is the unifying element that has brought not only cultures and races together, but also nature, humankind and divine beings.

In the first essay of the collection, "El maíz, el runa y la chicha," Mirano explains that *chicha* is made up of equal parts divinity, humanity and nature and that these three beings, "conviven al mismo tiempo en su sustancia." (*Chicha* 6) [65] Yet this unity is not lost on those who do not share the same ancestry. As we see in "Mesti-zacha," Mirano attributes the joining of two opposite but complimentary cultures to the ritual of drinking *chicha*. He explains that the drinking of *chicha* creates a *t'iyusqa*, or an inversion of the daily world, and because Europeans found this inversion similar to their own *Carnaval* celebration (*Chicha* 10), it created unity instead of difference, bringing *indios*, *cholos* and *mestizos* all together to consume *chicha* (*Chicha* 9). We see in "Pase caserito" that this unity is created separately and maintained independent from the homogenizing discourses of the State such as the need for an identification card, a title, or noble lineage. The narrative voice describes his sentiments as he enters a *chichería:*

> Volví a encontrarme con la chicha fresca, el abrazo amigo, la conversa amena, el cariño de la nochecita, la confianza del no prejuicio, la honestidad de abrirte la puerta y dejarte entrar sin necesidad de carné, sin necesidad de títulos, ni linaje noble, sólo una chichita papá (*Chicha* 14).

[65] *Runa* is "people" in Quechua.

Chicha is the unifying element that holds the Andean world together (*Chicha* 14) because of its communicative characteristics and its abilities to unite man with nature and the cosmos (*Chicha* 14).

Its separation from the discourses of the State does not mean that the discourses *chicha* produces are not taken into account in the creation of nation. However, it does mean that such discourses come from the margins of the nation. They occupy a supplementary space as Bhabha proposes, which is a space, not of negation of the hegemonic discourse, but of a renegotiation of already existing spaces that creates a newly signified space ("DissemiNation" 315). In other words, the marginal discourses coming from the space of the *chichería* are not in opposition to any State or hegemonic discourses. On the contrary, they interact with these hegemonic discourses so as to supplement it.

Mirano's perspective regarding the space of the *chichería* differs from the point of view of traditional *indigenistas* like José Uriel García (Cusco, 1894-1965). García describes the space of the *chichería* as a deforming magical space linked to nature. He invokes primitive and innocent images of those who frequent *chicherías* in order to celebrate the elemental qualities of such a magical space. For him, the *chichería* is the womb of Andean culture, and it is the place "donde se revela el gesto de la raza." (García, José Uriel 99) The sentiment is far from objective and removed; he transmits his affection for the space and for Andean culture in general, albeit maintaining a certain distance, characteristic of the descriptive and even anthropological tone of *indigenista* writings of the time. For García, the people in the *chichería* and even the space itself have a strong emotional significance but (or because) they are different and even exotic. Unfortunately, by celebrating the *chichería* in this way, he also relegates it to a space that is incompatible with modernity and to a literally "prehistoric" time. The primitive and

innocent qualities that he attributes to the *chichería* transfer to those who occupy its space, which in turn relegates them as a personification of Andean culture to a space outside of history. José Guillermo Nugent underscores this phenomenon as part of the labyrinth of *choledad.* The idea of *choledad,* a term conceived by Nugent and expounded upon in his essay *El laberinto de la choledad* (1992), has been an important catalyst in the transformation of Peruvian literature from its Andean margins. *Choledad* is reformulating the creation of identity through literature and the reading of contemporary Andean works.

The concept of the *cholo* originates in the Colonial period, and it manifests itself in the *Comentarios reales* by the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega:

> Al hijo de negro e india – o de criollo y de negra – dicen mulato o mulata. A los hijos de estos llaman cholo. Es vocablo de las islas de Barlovento; quiere decir perro, no de los castizos, sino de los muy bellaco gozcones, y los españoles usan de él por infamia y vituperio (Garcilaso de la Vega 86).

The racial connotations of *cholo* therefore were negative even during Colonial times, and they unfortunately continue as strong as ever today, with a few exceptions, as we will later see. As Jorge Bruce explains in his psychoanalysis of Peruvian racism, *Nos habíamos choleado tanto* (2007), it is normal that Peruvians define themselves as *mestizos*, but it is almost unheard of that they auto-define themselves as *cholos* (Bruce 32). The term *mestizo*, Bruce clarifies, is an accepted or even valued category, while the term *cholo* has a charge of denigration and subjugation (32). In fact, initiatives of Peruvian national identity created and supported by the government and elite Peruvians tend to look toward a *mestizo* identity, and from there surges the tendency of Peruvians to auto-define themselves as *mestizos.* Be that as it may, the *mestizaje* promoted by Peruvian elites is a Eurocentric *mestizaje* that emphasizes a mixing of blood in which

indigenous blood is overpowered and even invisible in the face of Westernized hegemony.

As Nugent explains, *choledad* is the principle quality of Peruvian society. For him, Peruvian society is a labyrinth, or a configuration of Peruvian social space, that was created during the Colonial period. The labyrinth cannot be seen or understood unless he who wishes to do so is also a participant (Nugent 18), and the walls of this labyrinth represent a type of cultural border or limit, where that which comes from the other side (the essence of *choledad* being a relationship with the Other) is extra-human, extra-legal, and extra-historic (Nugent 23). The participants within the labyrinth of *choledad* recognize each other by the action of *cholification*, or making someone feel like a *cholo*, in the sense of infamy and condemnation that the Inca Garcilaso explains to us. Everyone is *cholo* of someone else, and everyone *cholifies* someone else. This "sutura infectada que recorre los contornos de nuestra historia," (Bruce 27) is internalized not only by those who discriminate, but also by those who are discriminated against, as a "true" discourse, creating an almost indestructible mechanism of social control (Bruce 33). *Choledad* truly is the labryrinth of Peruvian society from which it seems impossible to escape.

In August of 2005, Peruvians throughout the country left their houses to notice posters hung all around the city by the political party Constructores Perú, donning the controversial message: "Todos somos cholos: seámoslo siempre." This message is being transformed into the new answer to Peruvian national identity, not only in the space of politics, but also in socio-cultural spaces like those of visual arts and of literature. The slogan continues: "Todos somos cholos: seámoslo siempre… ¿cholos de mierda? o ¿cholo power?" demonstrating that the goal behind this controversial message is to reappropriate discriminatory discourses about the *cholo* with the intention of inverting the structures of power established in the colonial period. If we are all *cholos*, and we make

the conscious decision to auto-define ourselves as *cholos* of our own accord, celebrating such identification, the mechanisms of social control that come from the act of *cholifying* another person lose all efficacy. In the words of Juan Manuel Sosa, one of the representatives of the Constructores Peru party,

> No es gratuito que 'lo cholo' cause escozor y, justamente por eso, asumirnos cholos es mucho más que un acto de auto-reconocimiento, es una reivindicación de esta nueva peruanidad relegada y una afirmación ineludible para la construcción de una república verdaderamente inclusiva (np).

Assuming a *cholo* identity gives power to those whose identity had been decided for them for so many years.

Nugent observes that in the 19th century, indigenous peoples were expelled from time because they did not fit into the definition of modernity that the *letrado* elite held (Nugent 20). At the same time that these *letrados* were participating in politics and writing nation-building essays and novels, they were creating a nation in which indigenous peoples could not participate, because, while they were moving towards modernity, indigenous groups were excluded from any temporal movement. In other words, indigeneity and modernity became incompatible. Even with the arrival of the *indigenismo* movement in Peru and elsewhere throughout Latin America, which sought to give value to indigenous culture and to question mechanisms of discrimination of such groups, *indigenistas* arguably reinforced the same power structures against which they protested by speaking *for* indigenous people instead of allowing them to have their own voice. In the same light, García intends to exalt the space of the *chichería*, yet he too does exactly what Nugent describes. It is inevitable, Nugent explains, because we are all part of the labyrinth of *choledad.*

Mirano, on the other hand, brings the rituals of making and drinking *chicha* and the space of the *chichería* into the contemporary present of Andean culture. Whereas he

recognizes the divine characteristics of the drink, as he underlines in the title of the second essay "Wiñ-apu" by playing with the Quechua word for germinated corn so that we can see the word *apu*, or god, within it, he also links *chicha* to the racial dynamics of today's society. In "Ch'u-mar" we see the unpredictability and ambiguity of race, a source of discrimination developed during the Conquest that still drives social relationships today in Peru. Mirano inverts the idea of an ideal race, which for Peruvian elites would be a *criollo* or European identity. Instead, for him the *chicha* identity is ideal because it represents unity and mixture of races while still maintaining the positive aspects of the indigenous identity. He explains, "Si la chicha tiene padre, ese debe ser un cholo recio, que duerme en paja y bebe el rocío diario de la mañana (*Chicha* 10)… la madre es fuerte, viste de pollera, cría niños por decenas y siempre lleva una manta en la espalda." (*Chicha* 11) *Chicha* itself has the appearance of being *mestiza*, even with parents who are both *cholos*, because it is the embodiment of an inclusive pluralized mixture of races in Peru. Mirano takes on the idea of *choledad* that Nugent presents to us in that racial identity is a common bond among all Peruvians, but instead of allowing the social connotation of the term *cholo* to acquire negative or even derrogatory sentiments, he celebrates the *cholo* identity and makes it an ideal creation of the family unit. By relating a *cholo* identity to a universal mother and father, he unifies all Peruvians through what was once a destructive, negative significance. It still follows that we are all part of the labyrinth of *choledad*, and that this *choledad* is the basic building block of Peruvian society, but his perspective brings everyone together instead of differentiating them, all through the Andean space of the *chichería*.

Chicha, in fact, is an important part of Andean culture today, not only in its ceremonial preparation and drinking, but also as a much larger cultural trend. Javier Garvich's article "El carácter chicha en la cultura peruana contemporánea" first explains

the evolution of the term *chicha* and its associations, both positive and negative, in order to describe *chicha* as a cultural phenomenon of reappropriation, interpretation and diversity. Although *chicha* has been used as a part of ceremonies or rituals since pre-Incan times, and as Mirano demonstrates, is still part of contemporary Andean culture today, the term gained a different cultural significance due to the emergence of *chicha* music in the 1980s, a mixture of the *huayno* genre from the *sierra* and the *cumbia* from the tropical regions. It gained popularity quickly among the urban sectors of the country (Garvich 126) and transcended its musical beginnings quickly. Chicha came to represent all characteristics of the young and poor social sector who listened to the music. While *chicha* culture could have meant a social revolution, a recreation of national identity from the margins of society protagonized not by the elite *letrados,* but by a sector of society much more representative of the nation, hegemonic cultural discourses snatched it up quickly, resemanticizing it so that the term carried a denigrating and even racist tone (Garvich 126). *Chicha* came to signify any cultural phenomenon spanning from deliberately informal to delinquent, an exaggerated, cheap and flashy aesthetic that echoed that of the signs used to advertise the upcoming *chicha* music performances (126).

Nevertheless, in spite of its negative connotations (which without a doubt continue even today), Garvich still considers *chicha* a positive cultural process or an experimental search for new aesthetics that seek to incorporate previous models yet not to copy them (127). Just like the drink, *chicha* as a cultural phenomenon takes from elements of the Peruvian tradition yet is successful in recreating itself in a contemporary context (Garvich 127). As would be expected, this process comes from the margins, from those who are familiar with the borders of society because they constantly traverse the line between belonging and not-belonging. Mirano's *chichería* is exemplary of this

border space. In “Entre la van-guardia y la reta-guardia” he describes the space of the *chicherí*a in relationship to the city. He explains that as the city grows from the urban centers, the *chicherí*a is being pushed farther and farther to the city’s geographical margins, making the *chicherí*a not only culturally but also geographically marginal. Mirano observes that the “perimeters” are always reserved for “todo aquello insignificante, anticuado, populoso o *chicha*.” (*Chicha* 11) The *chicherí*a, then, is the spatial manifestation of the marginality that produces changes in national identity.

Garvich also underlines another important aspect of *chicha* as a cultural process: *chicha* is an inherently Andean and therefore *oral* cultural process. In light of the inherent (but not exclusive) orality in *chicha* culture, we are confronted with a somewhat contradictory situation though when we talk about the reappropriation of *chicha* and the *chicherí*a in literature. If *chicha* were an exclusively oral cultural process, literary discussions would have little to no bearing on the rearticulation of space and language through literature. However, as Schwab theorizes, reading and literature have language as their axis. While literature does not produce a mirror image of cultural contact, language provides us with the technology through which we are able to see the refractions and results of cultural contact. Schwab explains that literature provides a “transitional space” in which we are able to encounter otherness, both externally and internally (26). Literature then becomes a privileged medium for bringing the internal otherness of a culture back into contact and circulation (Schwab 30). In short, language provides an axis for a literary transformation of culture, and thus, identity.

Returning to Mirano’s collection of essays, we can see how the author reappropriates the space of the *chicherí*a and the ritual of *chicha* itself through literature. The short unpublished essay “El lenguaje del maíz” takes the previous essays on *chicha* one step further to not only reappropriate space, but to also reappropriate language. As

we have seen, Mirano begins to play with language in *Chicha. Brío de las canteras*, but in this later essay, he theorizes the change, giving the playful qualities seen in the previous essays a more deliberate significance. The essay, he begins, is an effort to resolve and to create more doubts about Andean cultural practices, because by creating doubts, the cultural community *K'ancharina* and Mirano himself resist the creation of dogmas or absolute truths. As he so poetically states, "…por eso vamos con la duda por delante para estar seguros que no estaremos seguros de lo que decimos." ("El lenguaje" np) By leaving the doors open to doubt, they, in turn, create more life.

In these first introductory lines, we notice that language gains importance and yet remains ambiguous at the same time. Long orally reminiscent lists play with the significance of language and the act of naming. "En el cosmos, en la existencia, en el kawsay andino, en el mundo andino, o como queramos decirle…" ("El lenguaje" np) [66] Additionally, the author inserts epigraphs at the beginning of each section quoting himself, seemingly of phrases that he has said repetitively in an oral form. At the beginning of the essay, the first epigraphs state, "Escribo para no ser torpe con lo que pienso y digo," and "Fotografío para tener memoria de lo que siento al ver." Later, before the section titled "El lenguaje del maiz," he repeats the same type of "oral epigraph." Quoting himself, he says, "A través del lenguaje descubrimos que somos lo que hablamos." Written language and art serve not only as a source of memory, but as a continuance of orality and feeling that gives them more value. The epigraphs establish a dialogue between the individual writer Mirano and the collective *ayllu* that he represents as he writes the essays and also a dialogue between written and oral expression. This *ayllu* is at once that of the *K'ancharina* community and also of the entire Andean region.

[66] *Kawsay* is "life" in Quechua.

Therefore, Mirano creates a contemporary Andean community through collective written representation preceded by individual oral expressions.

The underlying message remains the same as in *Chicha. Brío de las canteras*: corn and life are inseparable, yet the manner in which Mirano arrives at this message is much more focused on language than on the actual space of the *chichería*. Language and space are reappropriated in literature in order to create an Andean identity compatible with modern notions of progress and development. However, language does not carry an inherent power. It must be recognized as such in order to be considered language, and this recognition comes from those who hold the power to legitimize it. García employs the space the *chichería* and its language in an effort to bring to light the cultural practices and traditions of indigenous peoples of Peru. He legitimizes its language in his role as a representative of the indigenous voice, yet overlooks the actual use of the term by indigenous people themselves, creating a false sense of agency for those who are actors in the cultural practices and traditions. On the other hand, the first and second generation descendents of immigrants to Lima utilized the term *chicha* in a more broad sense to reappropriate a mixture of Andean and Caribbean aesthetics in a profoundly modern way, exercising their agency until hegemonic discourses once again reappropriated the term.

In the first pages of the essay Mirano establishes corn as the embodiment of plurality. “El maíz viene resignificándose, pero no exactamente de ‘contenido’, sino de contenidos, contextos y creencias, y mediando cuestionamientos a nuestras teorías también de fes al futuro desde el presente.” (“El lenguaje” np) In other words, corn represents the culture of Peru, not only because it is a part of the daily life of Peruvians, but because it represents the plural characteristics of the identity of the nation. Mirano constructs corn in all of its plurality through the act of naming. As he names each type of corn as it appears in Andean daily life, he recognizes the linguistic power of those who

utilize the terms. Instead of rejecting the essence of the written words and its power to create by naming, he harnesses that element in the interest of the creation of a contemporary Andean identity based on corn's characteristics:

> Primero le decimos caña porque nos interesa de él el néctar de su tallo, que como picaflores andinos tomamos a desvergüenza succionando, despedazando y después salivando de placer. Luego del gran descuartizamiento, creyendo haber tomado la esencia de este "ser" tomamos de él (cosechamos) sus granos engarzados al marlo, a cuyo conjunto le llamamos choclo, es decir la mazorca de maíz. Este gran choclo desgranado será el tema de los muchos de nuestros platos preferidos como la lawa de maíz, el ch'airo, el Cebiche, etc. y si queremos prepararnos un mate nada más fresco que la parwa o los pelitos del choclo (Ch'ukcha sara). ("El lenguaje" np)

Corn is part of nature, and it is something to be consumed and enjoyed, yet respected. By naming each element of the actual plant and its products, he transfers power and recognition through language to its use in contemporary Andean culture.

As corn is at the heart of our existence, and we must communicate in order to exist, corn takes a strategic role as a technology of communication. Mirano explains, "Necesitamos entonces comunicarnos para existir... es tan simple para t'inkar un poco de bebida a la tierra, es tan dialogante como soplarle unos k'intus a los Apus..." ("El lenguaje" np) Just like language, as Schwab elaborates, corn is also the central element that allows for communication, not only externally with others, but also internally with ourselves, allowing us not only to get to know the Other as Self more thoroughly through communication, but also getting to know the Self as Other in communication with ourselves (Schwab x). Mirano sees inebriation as a limit experience between sober and intoxicated: "Como protagonista de nuestra embriaguez normalmente reivindicamos a la chicha, como hija del maíz además." ("El lenguaje" np) From inebriation, the communicative qualities of corn make themselves known. Amazonian and Andean

shamans have utilized the act of inebriation for centuries in their role as intermediaries between the world of the humans and that of the gods.

Anthopologist Gerardo Castillo Guzmán also observes the communicative and unifying qualities of inebriation, and although he does not limit his study to drinking *chicha*, his observations go hand in hand with Mirano's. In his research on *campesino* communities in the department of Cusco, he finds the presence of alcohol as central in daily and ritual life (Castillo Guzmán 437), and inebriation as a tool that allows members of the community to break with the course of daily life (439). According to Castillo Guzmán, inebriation almost always occurs in a public space, and the act of drinking always requires the presence of the Other and reinforces the bond that an individual holds with those with whom he drinks (444). In other words, intoxication is a reciprocal act (Castillo Guzmán 444), and an act that facilitates communication (447) while at the same time questioning the hierarchies of social and sacred relationships (447). However, Castillo Guzmán underscores the fact that social rules do not disappear completely in these intoxicated states; they are modified within the state of inebriation and return to normalcy once the festivities are finished (449). To conclude, he offers the observation that collective inebriation in Andean communities can be understood as a *liminal time* during which society's rigid rules of order are suspended and questioned (450). The anthropologist reiterates the communicative and unifying essence of corn, this time through *chicha*'s intoxicating qualities. *Chicha* allows those who participate in its drinking a medium through which they can express themselves more fully. Because the drinking of *chicha* is a collective, and not individual, act, it follows that through participating in such an activity, the participant traverses the boundaries set up by social norms and also the boundaries between the Self and the Other.

Mirano perceives the communicative characteristics of corn in the same way that Schwab links language and literature to communication:

> Esto puede entenderse que la labor comunicadora del maíz se realiza en dos dimensiones; la primera nos comunica con el exterior, con todos los elementos y seres de nuestras creencias; y la segunda con el mundo interior, nos comunica con nosotros mismos, con nuestros sueños, deseos y conflictos, es decir con lo que somos. ("El lenguaje" np)

Mirano alludes to his logic behind choosing a literary (academic) genre like the essay: literature and corn serve similar communicative purposes, permitting Mirano to use literature to reappropriate and rename the plurality of corn and its uses in contemporary Andean society. He employs a written literary genre, yet grants the orality of the *chicha* culture entrance into dialogue with the written arguments, in the form of his own voice in the epigraphs. Corn speaks, Mirano affirms: "El maíz habla, no por ser sólo un elemento alimenticio, o por ser un elemento de la alimentación cotidiana...;" ("El lenguaje" np) corn speaks because it is a communicative technology based on reciprocity that permits us to understand the Other and ourselves at the same time. The conclusion of Mirano's essay reiterates how this plural *chicha* culture resists stagnation in time or being cast out of history by a limiting definition of modernity:

> ...Seguimos reinterpretando y dotando de contenidos nuestros cultos y tiempos domésticos, ambos en completa relación, por ello dejamos el documento abierto a cualquier aporte sobre todas las preguntas y dudas que aun mantenemos en este quehacer reflexivo. ("El lenguaje" np)

The open-ended structure of the essay echoes the constantly changing *chicha* identity of the contemporary Andes.

Finally, in his last (unfinished and unpublished) essay, "Fundamentación, catálogo," Mirano's reappropriation of space, language and literature comes full circle as he resignifies colonial literature to fit into a contemporary Andean cosmovision,

specifically the *Comentarios reales* by the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega. Although in *Chicha. Brío de las canteras* and even in his unpublished essay on corn he includes some quotes from the *Comentarios reales,* here he re-reads the commentaries as supporting his (and the collective's) cultural project. In celebration of the 402nd anniversary of the publication of the *Comentarios reales*, Mirano convokes a *t'inkuy*.[67] This *t'inkuy*, he clarifies, is not merely a celebration of the Inca Garcilaso and his works, but also a utilization of those entities to begin a conversation about ourselves, as Peruvians. In his cyclical definition of *t'inkuy* he effectively builds on its reappropriation in contemporary society now and in the future, "donde la conceptualización de la obra Inca Garcilaso sea un motivo para reivindicar nuestro propio mestizaje en nuestro propio tiempo." ("Fundamentación" np) Although the essay is not complete, and we as readers are left to ponder how Mirano and the *Sociedad, privada de arte* will achieve this reappropriation, he assures his readers that such a linguistic and temporal reappropriation will also entail a spatial one:

> Finalmente pretendemos que este no sea una exposición doméstica más, sino donde el fin del t'inkuy sea la muestra itinerante que exponga todos los trabajos participantes, en calles, plazas, avenidas, salas, aeropuertos, mercados, supermercados, todo el Perú y si es posible del mundo. ("Fundamentación" np)

In the reappropriation of space and time of the *chichería* we find language and communication to be the central axes. Likewise, in the reappropriation of literature, language, space and time are the critical elements in such a transformation.

[67] Mirano understands the concept of *t'inkuy* as a friendly or sexual encounter and also a ritual fight or dance. He also adds his own interpretation of a *t'inkuy* as a re-encounter, something like a continuity of cyclical facts, appearances and feelings ("Fundamentación" np).

KUNAN CUSCO: JORGE ALEJANDRO VARGAS PRADO

Jorge Alejandro Vargas Prado, born and raised in Cusco, is a founding member of the Grupo Editorial Dragostea, a cooperative publishing house from Arequipa, that to date has published 26 titles. He is also the director, along with Cusqueñan Martín Zúñiga, of a virtual catalogue of contemporary Peruvian poetry called *Urbanotopía*. He has directed various urban interventions, and his texts have appeared in numerous national and international journals. He finished his studies in literature and linguistics in 2009 from the Universidad Nacional de San Agustín in Arequipa, and today he lives in Cusco again and works at the Centro Guamán Poma de Ayala, a non-governmental organization established in 1979 and concerned with development in Cusco through a focus on local and regional leadership.

Although Vargas has won various competitions for his short stories and has published various translations of canonical works into Spanish, Vargas published his first novel, *Antes que las primeras veces se terminen* in 2009 combined with a selection of poetry and short stories in a book titled *Para detener el tiempo*.[68] The fact that this novel is one of the few (if not the only) novels written by a young Cusqueñan writer of his generation in the last ten years makes its existence all the more significant.[69] The novel is a 4x6 inch book published "backwards;" that is, the pagination goes from back to front, opposite the conventional pagination of a book. Vargas explains his reason behind the format in his prologue: "La idea de la tapa invertida nace por travieso y contestatario a la

[68] In 2005 Vargas published a short book titled *La loca y otros cuentos desvergonzados*, and in 2006 his collection of short stories, *Cuentos*, went to press. Vargas has edited a collection of erotic masculine literature *Vello húmedo – recopilación de literatura erótica masculina* (2008), and he has also translated poetry by Ana Blandiana from Romanian to Spanish for *Otoño y otros poemas*, a volume of poetry that makes up the collection of feminine poetry titled *Lady Lazarus* (2008). He has organized various conferences for young poets including Colectiva 06 (Arequipa), Colectiva 07 (Arequipa), Colectiva 08 (Cusco), Sube Pe (2009, Cusco, Arequipa, Lima, Tarapoto) and Enero en la Palabra (2010, Cusco).

[69] Here, I refer to masculine narrative production in Cusco. For an analysis of feminine narrative production, and an explanation of my intentional separation of the two, see Chapter 3.

vez, por ir en contra del orden occidental tomando ejemplos orientales... y de paso jugando... con al ñawpaq y el qhepa que es una concepción diferente en el Ande: Antes-adelante y después-atrás." (*Antes* 7) Both the size and the experimental pagination allude to temporal and spacial reappropriations of the novelistic literary genre, urging its readers to think about time and space in a different way, and possibly even allowing them to "stop time" in defiance of Uriel García and other traditional *indigenistas'* tendencies to cast the Andean culture out of time without allowing them any agency in such a decision, and similar to Mirano's photography and writing as a way of preserving moments and feelings in time.

The format of the novel itself also alludes to a reappropriation of language by way of a contemporary Andean perspective. The novel combines the oral nature of Cusqueñan society, through its use of excerpts from Radio Salkantay and other oral medias, with the written nature of the novelistic genre itself and also with the epigraphs of literary (and otherwise) works placed at the beginning of the collection and between each work. This technology contrasts with Mirano's use of "oral epigraphs," but serves the same purpose: to bring the oral nature of the Andean society into the written work, subverting it by permitting the reader to see its structure. The novel begins with a sound byte from the radio:

> Radio Salkantay le recuerda la hora [trece horas cero cero minutos]... Los pueblos y los hombres requieren de más y mejor información, el mundo en 60 minutos, amplitud informativa del Perú profundo dirección, leo rosas, todo manchayhinaraq llegan los titulares (*Antes* 1-2). [70]

Not only do Vargas's readers "hear" Radio Salkantay's voice before they even read his prologue to the novel, they are also introduced into the sounds and spaces of Cusqueñan society.

[68] *Manchayhinaraq* means "brave, valiant and true" in Quechua.

The fact that we "hear" before we read, and that orality is linked to technology, is not a coincidence. Quechua and pop culture interlace with the Spanish of the broadcast, portraying a profoundly Andean society anchored in its unique regional identity yet linked to international pop culture. "Kay nispa kusisqa kashan,[71] no? Ese maqta.[72] Y desde Wanchaq pues nos piden un pedacito, para el recuerdo dicen[73] [74]. -Para el recuerdo, ah. -Faint de Linkin park dicen, una buena canción para empezar. Escuchemos. A ver escuchemos un ratito nomás seya (sic)." Even traditional Andean stories adapted to contemporary society appear in this oral-technological form:

> -Habia pues una opa[75], k'umu k'umu[76], que le decía a su enamorada, cada vez que se despedía, 'chau mi amor, nos veremos si el destino quiere' y su enamoradita un día cansada, le había dicho 'y dónde queda lo que nosotros queremos' para pensar wayqekuna[77], panaykuna[78], para pensar (*Antes* 75).

Language takes a central role, especially in this citation, where the traditionally unquestioned nuances of the Spanish language are questioned within the context of an oral tale passed down from generation to generation. Schwab explains, "In the current cultural scene, identification and fusion with characters has become increasingly related to children's literature, *popular culture and the mass media*." (14, my emphasis) Garvich also reiterates this focus on mass media and popular culture, observing that, "Las nuevas tecnologías han producido una cultura de espectáculo profundamente audiovisual y

[71] Saying this, he becomes happy.
[72] *Maqta* is "young boy" in Quechua.
[73] *Wanchaq* is a neighborhood on the outskirts of Cusco.
[74] The repetition of *dicen* is characteristic of reported speech in Quechua, usually marked by *nispa* or *nin* rather than quotations.
[75] Slow, dumb in Quechua.
[74] Crouched, head down, in both a physical and emotional sense.
[77] Brothers, of a male speaker.
[78] Sisters, of a male speaker.

multimedia (130). It follows that the format in which Vargas presents his novel to his readers should reflect this emphasis on oral technology and audiovisual cultures.[79]

Apart from the "oral epigraphs," Vargas also includes numerous "written epigraphs" at the beginning of each work within *Para detener el tiempo*. The purpose of these epigraphs is not only to announce the themes of the following work, but also to interlace the orality of the radio broadcast with other technologies used to disseminate information and create collective identities. In the case of the "written epigraphs," he cites well known writers such as Delmira Agustini[80] as well as his Cusqueñan and Arequipan[81] predecessors and contemporaries, like Willni Davalos,[82] Kilku Warak'a,[83] Carlos Tapia[84] and Fernando Rivera.[85] He even includes an epigraph citing the British trip-hop musical outfit UNKLE (*Antes* 78), allowing orality and international pop culture

[79] In fact, Vargas continues to recognize the important of audiovisual culture and technology in his later projects, as we can see with the video-art project titled *Made in Taiwan* and presented in March and April of 2011 in the Centro Cultural de Bellas Artes of Lima. This project proposes a new perspective on identity in Cusco, and was presented by the art collective *Proyecto 3399*, of which Vargas is a member, a collective made up of eleven artists from Cusco. The actual work presented was a video installation of pop songs known around the world but translated into Quechua. The songs were accompanied by intense "video-art" that aimed to destabilize the preconception that people hold about Cusco and its culture. The songs, like "El Meneíto" by Natusha or Michael Jackson's "Beat It" were chosen because of the nostalgic feeling that they produced in the members of the collective, precisely because they are songs that have been part of their transcultural existence in Cusco – an existence full of foreign influence but with a strong connection to Andean culture. The videos are constructed from two simultaneously recording cameras, playing with the Andean concepts of *hanan* and *urin* (the world from above and the world from below), and the material is a blue plastic which references, the members state, the *chicha* culture popular in the 90s and the severe rains and dire situations resulting from the flooding that occurred in the region in 2010. Aside from the *Made in Taiwan* presentation in Cusco, the collective has also orchestrated a gallery show of plastic arts called *3399 msnm Think Tank*, which alludes to the altitude of the imperial city of Cusco (*Made in Taiwan).*

[80] Uruguayan Modernist poet, 1886-1914.

[81] Vargas studied literature in Arequipa at the Universidad Nacional San Agustin, where he and his classmates formed the Editorial Group Dragostea. Dragostea, along with the Editorial Cascahuesos, are two independent cooperative editorials on the forefront of publications of young Peruvian authors.

[82] Cusqueñan poet, born 1988, contemporary of Vargas.

[83] Pen name for Andres Alencastre Gutierrez, 1909-1984, Peruvian poet who wrote in Quechua

[84] Arequipan poet, his collection of poetry *Música para afeitarse* was recognized by the Universidad Nacional de San Agustín in Arequipa.

[85] Arequipan literary critic and fiction writer.

to mix, all the while challenging the long established stereotypes that Andean culture is solely oral while Western culture is written.

The epigraph that most underscores the themes present throughout the novel is that of Peruvian literary critic and fiction writer Fernando Rivera. Appearance is not always what it seems, especially when defining what it means to be Peruvian:

> El sargento lo toma de mentón y observa sus ojos. Ordena: -¡Quítese los lentes de contacto! El hombre del antifaz se los quita. Aparecen unos ojos azules […] -Vaya, ¿peruano, verdad? […] No parece peruano, ¿de dónde es su familia? Sí que parece un tonto. Mientras escribe, el hombre del antifaz vuelve a ponerse el antifaz. Pregunta: -¿Como debe ser peruano entonces? […] ¿Y usted, sargento, de dónde es? -Yo nací aquí. -Entonces es gringo. Vaya pues lo que hace la genética (*Antes* 78).

As we will see throughout the novel, appearances are not always what they seem: spaces, language and even physical appearance can be altered and reinterpreted in order to create new definitions of an Andean identity, and these definitions do not follow the preconceptions that we have of Andean culture. Vargas's *Antes que las primeras veces se terminen* attempts to answer the question that the man in the mask asks the representative of the State, "What does Peruvian really look like then?" by responding with a plural identity continuously created from the margins of society.

Antes que las primeras veces is a novel about three young Cusqueñans who are trying to encounter significance in their lives yet not lose the characteristics that have defined them in their adolescence. However, the three characters are also the metaphor for contemporary Cusqueñan culture: Abelardo, the easily swayed, emotion-minded model for Inca Kola, is the representative of pop culture and the national and international markets;[86] Jonathan is the misunderstood intellectual academic who allows himself to be seduced by Western culture in the form of a beautiful Australian girl named

[86] Inka Kola is a soft drink company in Peru, recently bought by the Coca-Cola Company in 1999.

Brittany, representative of Peruvian academic and intellectual pursuits; and Fabiola is the orphan artist looking for recognition, the embodiment of the arts in Peru, whose plan in the end is foiled by the interests of pop culture and the market economy. For Vargas, these three characters are emblematic of the elements that make up contemporary Andean culture: international (and national) popular culture, intellectual and academic pursuits, and the arts. More importantly, each of these elements, which on their own may not be considered inherently Andean, combines their present "modern" identity (modern in the sense that each element looks towards the future, and toward development and progress in the Western definition of the term) with a profoundly Andean identity.

The novel begins with an emblematic scene: Abelardo, "el muchacho [que] parecía de caramelo líquido o de manjar blanco," (*Antes* 80) awakes from a dream, and the world still tastes like bubblegum, a metaphor for the youthfulness and hope of this new generation of Cusqueñans, coupled with a description of his physical appearance, alluding to his race in a consumable, even delectable, fashion. Yet the bubblegum taste of youth and hope slowly fades away as the three main characters struggle to make a mark on their world, and Abelardo's candy-flavored racial connotations clash with the reality of contemporary Peruvian society.

Each character has experienced a profound loss in their adolescence, reminding us of the *wakcha* loss of identity in the transition period of Andean literature after the publication of Arguedas's *Los zorros* and before the present generation of literary production. Abelardo falls in love with a construction worker who he sees every day through his window working on the condo across from his own. On the last day of construction, when Abelardo is determined to profess his love, he watches as the construction worker falls to his death. "Abelardo lloró. Entonces entendió el significado biológico de la tristeza y a no ser de un dedo roto algo después, nunca volvería a llorar."

(*Antes* 85) Fabiola loses her parents in a car accident after finding out that her father had been having an affair with her mother's sister, who so many times had come to the house and feigned a normal familiar relationship. She is the literal embodiment of the *wakcha* identity of the past generation that pushes on to find a new representation in the present. Even Jonathan experiences a profound loss in his past when, after suspecting that his mother had been working as a prostitute, he finds out that she had been having an affair with Abelardo's father. The losses that these characters experience in their adolescence only occur in the novel as memories of the past, before the action of the novel begins, alluding to identitary discourses that have led up to this culminating point. These losses link Vargas's characters to those of the previous literary generation, allowing us to observe a trajectory from Arguedas's *Los zorros* to the present.

It is not only the struggle between adolescence and adulthood where identity is lost and reappropriated in new contexts; it is also in the transition from previous conceptions of Andean identity to the resignified contemporary ones. The first description of Jonathan makes the reader aware of this dynamic. We encounter Jonathan in his room, also waking up, like our first encounter with Abelardo. As he steps out of bed, his heart skips a beat: he fears that he has just stepped on and killed an ant. What may seem commonplace permits the narrative voice to describe Jonathan's conception of the Andean world:

> Jonathan, después de lo sucedido con su madre, había perdido casi toda fuerza. Algo lo mantenía, de algún modo, ecuánime era la convivencia con sus hormigas. Aparecieron una por una mientras él se interesaba en la concepción andina del mundo, buscando consuelo. Jonathan-hecho-pedazos lo entendió como una señal del gran objetivo común. En aquella comunión él tenía el supremo poder y la suprema racionalidad. Reflexión constante... Jonathan estaba convencido, él era responsable por el mundo. Si era capaz de matar, aun por equivocación a una hormiga, la Pachamama grande haría lo mismo con cualquier hombre inocente (*Antes* 90-91).

Jonathan's profound loss, like the writers of the 80s and 90s in Peru, leads him to understand his culture in a deeper way. He takes on a responsibility to nature, humankind, and divinity, and links these three elements to a contemporary Andean cosmovision. Jonathan was not taught the elements of the Andean world view in his youth, and nothing about his physical description leads the readers to believe that he is culturally predisposed to have knowledge of such ritual or cultural practices, except for, of course, the fact that he is from Cusco. What sets Jonathan apart from the "norm" is that he makes a conscious and intellectual decision to turn to the Andean perspective of the world when he is faced with a crisis in his life.

In fact, we find this level of consciousness present in all of the characters. Take for example the artist of the group, Fabiola. While the three friends are discussing where to buy some pisco to drink before they go out to the clubs for the night, Fabiola struggles with the norms that Western society expects of an adolescent (drinking, partying, spending time with friends, being happy), and the consciousness of living in a contemporary society plagued by racism and poverty.[87] As she heads to the store to buy the pisco, she sees an old woman sitting by the gate of an old house begging for money. "-Maldita sea, nosotros gastándonos un montón de plata para chupar y esa viejita... En el corazón de Fabiola crecía una llaga azul. Se convenció de que toda la pobreza en el mundo era culpa de gente como ella." (*Antes* 105)

Just as Jonathan arrives at his understanding of the Andean cosmovision through the mode that he finds most accessible – intellectuality – Fabiola arrives at her consciousness through her art. As we get to know Fabiola, we find that her artistic inspiration lies in an episode that occurred, ironically, in the *palacio de justicia* in Cusco.

[87] Pisco contrasts with *chicha* because the distillation process of pisco was brought to Peru by Spaniards while *chicha* existed in the pre-Inca and Inca societies, long before the arrival of the Spaniards.

As Fabiola waits in line for a visa to Chile, a woman enters the building, screaming and begging for justice. She tells her makeshift audience that her husband has been killed "like a dog" and they have robbed him of all the money he had saved up for their family in the future:

> 'Mírenme, señores ¡Ustedes que plata tienen!' Ahora las lágrimas le cocinaban las mejillas que parecían sangrar. Sus palabras sin embargo continuaban rígidas como se pone el cuerpo a morir... Comenzó a lanzar los granos de maíz a todos... La gente sentía como picotazos cada grano de maíz que le caía en la cara. Entonces nadie se movió y la mujer llorando comenzó a irse en silencio (*Antes* 152).

Fabiola is profoundly affected by the division between her own lifestyle and that of the *campesina* woman begging for justice in the *palacio de justicia*. Corn, the foundation of Andean society, has lost its traditional purpose in contemporary society. What should have been a source of income and livelihood for the poor woman is now useless. She reclaims that not even the *gringos* will buy it from her, demonstrating her knowledge of the commodification of her culture through international tourism. Her only recourse is to tear the corn violently from the husks with her teeth, spitting the kernels at the shocked, or perhaps indifferent, onlookers. Interestingly though, corn does not lose its communicative qualities that Mirano outlines in his essays. The old woman walks away crying, thinking that what was once a source of life has no value in today's society. However, as the flying kernels of corn bite into Fabiola's skin, she begins to understand the value of life through the Andean cosmovision by way of her art.

Fabiola muses about her ideas on art and her hopes for its transcendence, because for her, art is the only way to communicate the reality of Cusqueñan society, the reality of what she understood that day in the *palacio de justicia* thanks to the old woman and her corn:

> Y ahora todo el mundo que bla-bla-blá que ya nadie piensa en la composición, que todo es color, que todo es color. Color pues, obvio que todo es color, pero que

> fácil resulta cuando ni siquiera piensan en el dibujo. Ahora todo lo ven arte conceptual y la compu ¡Ay, no! Los odio. Claro, así resulta todo fácil, y las cosas fáciles no sirven (*Antes* 161).

Her opinions on the difference between composition and color are reminiscent of the arguments for and against the commodification of Andean culture that the poor old woman in the *palacio de justicia* mentioned. The argument is present in contemporary Andean society, as Victor Vich argues, in the form of the *brichero*, or a Peruvian who uses their culture as a commodity to seduce foreigners for economic, personal or sexual gain. Vich sees the *brichero* as an allegory of the nation in the neoliberal context of the contemporary world (*Antes* 97), and likens the act of seduction performed by the *brichero* to the attempts of recent Peruvian governments to sell a "new" and "clean" image of Peru abroad in the name of tourism (97). He explains that the entity *PromPerú* is selling an image of Peru, "donde los grupos indígenas son los encargados de representarnos a todos y donde ellos están siempre sonriendo ante una cámara que los despoja de toda la pobreza, de todo su presente." (97) [88]

While for Nugent, this is an act of casting Andean peoples out of time, for Fabiola, this commodified image of Peru means a focus on only the color, and not the composition, of the work itself. She complains that it should not be easy to produce art, that it must involve some suffering or sacrifice, much like the literary *brichero* figure, whose plans are always foiled in the end, many times by the State itself or by the fickle demands of the international market.[89] As Vich explains, the *brichero* is a postcolonial subject within which the past continues to act in the present in order to show its internal

[88] The *Comisión de Promoción del Perú para la Exportación y el Turismo* or *Promperú* is an entity of the Ministry of Exterior Commerce and Tourism in Peru. Its mission states that it develops strategies to give Peru an integrated and attractive image abroad that permits the country to develop its internal tourism and to promote the country to the world as a privileged destination and investment spot. They also promote exports that come from Peru.

[89] For narrative about the *brichero* figure, see works by Cusqueñan Mario Guevara Paredes (1956) like *El desaparecido* (1988), *Cazador de gringas y otros cuentos* (1995) and *Matar al Negro* (2003).

legacies and to underline its still open wounds; he is a subject that tries to negotiate, but that is finally absorbed by new logistics of domination (97). Throughout the novel, Fabiola repeatedly asks herself, or is questioned by her friends, the same question that Vich puts forth: Is it really possible to create agency from the place of the *brichero*, or in Fabiola's case, from her position as an internationally renowned artist, or does the demand for exoticism from the international market force them to falsify themselves, to focus on the color rather than on the composition? The answer is not an easy one, as we will see throughout Vargas's novel. Even Vich ends his article rhetorically open-ended: "¿Será posible reconstruir la historia y la nación (o, mejor dicho, la 'idea de comunidad') como algo realmente distinto al folklore postmoderno y neoliberal?" (99) In fact, it is Fabiola's simultaneous quest for recognition of herself as an artist and for recognition of the social and economic situation in which contemporary Cusco finds itself that leads her to create the plan of her faked suicide, the plan that drives the plot of the novel.

The novel, though, undertakes much more than the narration of the unfolding of the events of Fabiola's suicide. Vargas assumes a project similar to that of Arguedas in *Los zorros* in which he destabilizes hegemonic literary discourses in order to reappropriate them in terms of the Andean world view (See Chapter 1). He begins with the spaces and the time in which the action of the novel takes place, and then expands to encompass the use of language in contemporary society. For him, the conception of space, time and language in contemporary society constitutes a particular Andean culture that is easily misunderstood by those who are not part of it. This distinction leads to a discourse on recognition, and thus, brings us full circle to the intentions behind Fabiola's suicide plan.

Let us looks first at the employment of time and space in the novel. Beginning from the title of the book itself, *Para detener el tiempo*, the reader is presented with an

idea of time in opposition to a linear Western conception of time. In conversations throughout the novel, the characters casually mention the phenomenon of stopping time. In the first scene, when the three friends go out downtown together, they joke with Fabiola about how much she likes to drink. She responds, "-Aaaay, tarado. ¿Sabes qué? Para tu información, a mí me gustar chupar porque... con el trago soy capaz de detener el tiempo." (*Antes* 104) Later on, when the three discuss the question of recognition, Abelardo responds to Fabiola and Jonathan's opinions in terms of time:

> El trago detiene el tiempo como mierda, estás huasca y miras la hora y estás súper pendiente de la hora, pero disfrutas el momento, disfrutas la vida, piensas que ha pasado un ratazo, pero vuelves a ver el reloj y no ha pasado casi nada de tiempo ¿ves? Ahora el tiempo se ha detenido y has vivido de verdad, no importa si usas tu trago, tu marimba... cualquier huevada, la cuestión es saber detener el tiempo (*Antes* 248-249). [90]

Time is linked to recognition, as we have seen in Nugent's labyrinth. Contemporary Andean culture struggles against being cast outside of time and therefore modernity, by not being recognized by hegemonic discourses. The solution for Abelardo is to subvert the hegemonic version of time through Andean cultural practices, such as playing music or drinking as a reciprocal communicative action, like Castillo Guzmán and Mirano propose.

In the last chapter, right before the concluding scene of Fabiola's frustrated suicide, time finally stops in the novel, meaning that hegemonic discourses on time have successfully been subverted by the margins of society. Abelardo and Arsenie, Fabiola's Romanian domestic worker, are jogging through the Plaza de Armas and then through Sacsayhuaman when they see a human lump on the stairs in front of them:

> El tiempo se detuvo entonces. Era un muchacho ebrio, el más hermoso que Abelardo habría visto nunca. Dormía pálido y sus rizos ondulaban aquel viento

[90] *Huasca* means "drunk," from Quechua.

> mágico. La garúa encendía su rostro de manera insoportable, sus pestañas ascendían enormes. Abelardo imaginó que tenía el paladar de espejo y el pene de cerámica. El muchacho estaba sucio, pero se mantenía intacto. Sin duda era intangible de tan bello. Abelardo trastabilló pero se demoraba en caer, no tuvo dudas: el tiempo se había detenido (*Antes* 309).

Time stops as a result of the collision of a number of coincidences: the drunk boy sleeps after he has participated in a night of drinking, reminding us of Mirano's theory of inebriation as communication, the two friends-made-lovers jog through a public space, and Vargas has almost completed the project he proclaims in his title after his readers have read "backwards" chronologically. In order to stop time, as the title explains, all of these things must occur, and Vargas must achieve the involution of his readers into his contemporary Andean novel. The fact that it is a (self-proclaimed) experimental novel underscores the strategic element of the contemporary *chicha* or *cholo* culture: the identitary discourses in contemporary society are not definable because they are continuously evolving and changing. Rather than a stagnant temporal identity, like that given to indigenous people from the times of the Conquest, Vargas allows Andean identity to be ever-changing, constantly negotiating the borders between the past and the future.

Space in *Antes que las primeras veces se terminen* works in a similar manner. To begin, we observe a disorientation of space through Jonathan's perspective, a feeling that the space of reality is not the space of his own everyday existence. He thinks to himself, "La cabeza me duele de pena. La tristeza me confunde. Me desorienta, literalmente, me desorienta en el espacio real. Y todo por mi capacidad de relacionar cada pequeño suceso hasta su más ínfimo origen." (*Antes* 181-182) Jonathan's philosophical leanings create a disorienting space in which the foundational structures of thought are visibilized and therefore can be transformed. Later, we can observe the same phenomenon of the outsider's or marginalized perspective that highlights the foundations in the space of the

chichería, although this time the outsider is not Jonathan, but his Australian girlfriend Brittany. “Brittany se extranó del piso de tierra y descubrió en las mesas cubiertas con plásticos azules unos enormes caporales de vidrio que ella consideró insólitos milkshakes.” (*Antes* 237) Our perspective as readers is the same as that of a foreigner as the group enters into the *chichería*. Brittany refuses to drink the *chicha*, yet Fabiola, Jonathan and Abelardo show that they pertain to Andean culture by demonstrating the rituals associated with the drinking of *chicha*, like pouring some on the floor as a sign of respect to the hostess and to the Pachamama. The three participate in all of the acts of inebriation that Castillo Guzmán details in his article. They *tinkar* their drinks, they dance, and as the *chicha* breaks down the rules of daily interaction, Abelardo and Arsenie are able to question the hierarchies put in place by society.

In their case, the social structures that keep them distanced are first, that society places a heterosexual expectation on relationships, second, that Arsenie is a domestic employee in Fabiola’s house, and third, that Arsenie is Romanian, a foreigner. However, because Arsenie drinks *chicha* with the three Peruvians, he is able to temporarily traverse these boundaries, as is Abelardo with him. The two head out to the bathroom in the back of the *chichería*, and while they are in the bathroom, Abelardo is able to tell Arsenie that he is attracted to him. As the two kiss, they fall in the mud in the back yard, and the *señora* who owns the *chichería* just laughs at their clumsiness. Inside, Brittany becomes more and more uncomfortable, precisely because she is not taking part in the unifying action of drinking *chicha.* Brittany asks Jonathan to get her a taxi to go home, and when Jonathan returns and the group is reunited, nobody remembers that Brittany had been there. Space only takes on identitary significance for those who recognize the Andean cosmovision’s social importance. For Brittany, on the other hand, it has no bearing on her world view because she has no interest in recognizing it or in attempting to understand it.

We as readers begin in the same position as Brittany. We enter into the *chichería* somewhat estranged by our surroundings. Yet Vargas subtly invites us in, asking us to participate in the same way that Fabiola, Jonathan, Abelardo and even Arsenie participate.

This invitation becomes all the more clear in Chapter 0, a dream sequence version of the events in the *chichería*. People and animals appear and disappear at will as soon as the dreamers can articulate them into words. We are reminded once again of the power of language and of naming that Bourdieu and others detail. It becomes quite evident that those who hold the power to name are Fabiola, Jonathan and Abelardo, and of course, Jorge (Vargas) who enters the dream sequence moments later. When Brittany appears in the dream, she does so in the same capacity as when she entered the *chichería* – as a foreigner unprepared (or perhaps unwilling?) to recognize the bearing of the Andean cosmovision of contemporary society. The difference between the reality of the *chichería* and the dream space though, is that those characters who take on the Andean identity are able to transgress the rules of society completely and create their own rules, whereas Brittany has no agency. A "gringa boba" appears at the beginning of the chapter, but she quickly disappears after Jonathan pokes out her eyes with his house keys. If language's power lies in the hands of those who articulate it, and if the use of language in the dream is linked to the creation of people and objects, Jonathan does not offer Brittany his creative powers of language and therefore she disappears. He avenges her lack of recognition of his concept of self by taking away that with which one may recognize people – her eyes – with a tool that confirms his pertinence to contemporary society.

With the exception of the *gringa* though, an inclusive heterogeneous identity is created throughout Chapter 0, not surprisingly through *chicha,* and also through music. Everyone is included: "Todos (grandes señoras de sombrero blanco, metaleros con

cadenas, travestis gordos y borrachos, muchachos pitucos de La Salle, campesinos chaqchando coca) dan vueltas alrededor de un árbol, cantan." (*Antes* 254) [91] The traditional image of those who compose an Andean identity is completely destabilized and destroyed.

Our gaze is directed toward a *señora* serving *chicha* from a large tub, but all of the sudden, the tub falls and the entire neighborhood of San Blas is flooded with *chicha*.[92] Cusco itself becomes a character in the dream that assumes the identity of the Andean community, and we notice that, of course Cusco is inebriated; it would be almost unheard of for such unifying communication to occur without the help of corn, in the form of *chicha*, and without its communication producing inebriating powers. Those communicative powers come to a head in the following scene:

> Cusco encuentra que el gigantesco ch'aku se ha dormido y lo despierta con un suave: --Ish-ishcha. Pukllarisunchu? -Arí. Responde el gran perro y ambos salen volando. Tienen alas de oro y el escudo de Echenique en el pecho. -Oigan... ha dicho pukllarisun, no pukllarisaqku –advierte Jonathan. Los tres vuelan. Hay quenas, zampoñas, pututus, tinyas, y mucha chicha en el cielo. (*Antes* 255)

Now we enter into the completely reappropriated world of the contemporary Andean cosmovision. The communal character Cusco begins a dialogue with the *ch'aku*, a type of Andean dog. He speaks to him in Quechua, asking him if he would like to play. For those that do not understand Quechua, they would not know that Vargas is playing with the fact that there are two forms of the first person plural in Quechua, while there is only one in Spanish. The first of the two, *ñoqanchis*, is inclusive, meaning that it includes the person who speaks and the person towards which the speech is directed, and maybe others also. *Ñoqayku*, on the other hand, is exclusive, meaning that it does not include the person to

[91] *Ch'aqchar* means "to chew," from Quechua.
[92] San Blas is a neighborhood in Cusco known for is Bohemian style and inhabited by a large number of artists.

whom the speech is directed. When the *ch'aku* responds affirmatively and begins to play with Cusco among the clouds and musical instruments and *chicha,* Jonathan realizes that Cusco has used the inclusive "we." The three friends join Cusco and the *ch'aku* in the sky. Moments later, they are all naked, with golden wings, and wearing the crest of Echenique on their chests.[93] The group even includes the author in their games; at the end of the chapter the narrative voice reflects: "Escucho que Cusco ríe, el perro ríe, Fabiola ríe, Abelardo ríe, Jonathan ríe... me llaman riendo. La música es buena... Hay espacio para mí." (*Antes* 256) He calls out to Fabiola noticing, just as we noticed at the beginning of the novel with Abelardo's skin, that her smell is good enough eat. "Ella me sonríe cálida, como mermelada recién hecha. -Sí, Jorge, uno se la pasa de la refunrinfunflay." (256)

The previously analyzed episode exemplifies how the spaces and times of the novel expand to encompass the use of language in contemporary Andean society. The play of *ñoqanchis* and *ñoqayku* reflects an inherently Andean thought process, yet also one that is profoundly contemporary, because while Jonathan, Abelardo and Fabiola are speaking (or here, dreaming) in Spanish, they are able to communicate with and understand Cusco and the *ch'aku,* who are speaking in Quechua. It is precisely because they understand this play on language that they are able to join in the fun with Cusco. Language is critical to the construction of the contemporary identity that Vargas proposes, but it also constitutes a border. Jonathan, Fabiola and Abelardo are able to traverse this border, just like the foxes in Arguedas's *Los zorros.*[94]

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[93] The crest of Echenique is an alternative Cusqueñan crest that has been brought back into use in the recent years due to the fact that its characteristics refer more to the Incaic past than to the Colonial past.
[94] See Chapter 1 for an in-depth discussion of the role of the foxes in *Los zorros.*

Fabiola warns her readers of the power of language near the beginning of the novel. Similar to the epigraph of the story of the *opa's* overuse of Spanish phrases without meaning with his girlfriend, here Abelardo calls Fabiola, "mi cariño." Fabiola muses, "Su cariño, su cariño. A veces las personas deberían utilizar con más propiedad sus palabras, más propiamente. Su cariño, su cariño." (*Antes* 174) Her musings take on a double meaning: she wishes that Abelardo would not call her "mi cariño" if he does not mean it, and she understands the power of language and the different significances that it takes on as different people use it. Jonathan also recognizes the power of language as he strips it down to its primary elements. "Ojalá fuera tan fácil. Ó-ja-lá. Ó-ja-lá. Ójalá tiene dos acentos. ¿Ojalá? No, no, no. ¿Ójala? No, no pues. Ójalá debería tener dos acentos. Acentos." (*Antes* 182) This type of desconstruction occurs frequently throughout the novel, especially when the characters think about their place within social structures. By deconstructing and resignifying language, they are able to gain agency in the creation of their own identity. Fabiola's observation reflects the power that language can have on people even when the speaker does not take note of this power. Jonathan goes one step further, realizing this power that language has, deconstructing it and reconstructing it to his own accord. However, he realizes that with language there are overarching structures that remain in place. He continues his thoughts on *ojalá*, "Definitivamente: Ójalá debería ir con dos acentos. Sería la única palabra en el español con dos acentos. Algún día, antes de morirme le escribiré a la Real Academia de la Lengua Española. Sí pues. Ójalá, ó-ja-lá."

The following scene epitomizes this process that begins with Fabiola's observation, goes through Jonathan's deconstruction, and finally comes full circle in the dream sequence of Chapter 0. We become aware of Vargas's presence in the narrative voice, and as he plays with language, he makes his readers aware of his power of creation

through language. The narrative voice states, “Los tres vuelan. Hay quenas, zampoñas, pututus, tinyas y mucha chicha en el cielo.” (*Antes* 255) Abelardo traverses the line between fiction and reality and interacts with his author. “-Cielo dicen los sonsos -me dice Abelardo.” (255) Jorge has entered into the action of the novel, and his characters have taken over the power of language. “Fabiola me está mirando y me muestra sus pechos... Abelardo la empuja bruscamente y se ríe... Jonathan me sonríe, cómplice. Y repite: -Cómplice.” (255) The narrative voice that we assume to be only for us as readers is transformed into a character in the novel, and the characters gain the power of creation via language. The two converge, creating an experience that is at once experimental and conscious of its intentions: Language, as we have seen in the above examples and throughout the novel, and as Schwab reiterates, is the axis upon which we can know the Other and know the Self, and it is the most imperative building block for literary expression. Vargas clarifies in his prologue to the work, “La verdadera literatura tiene que perseguir desesperadamente, y como primera intención, un objetivo estético basado en la forma, en la variedad de sonidos y en la calidad y novedad en el trabajo con las palabras.” (*Antes* 5) This novelty in working with words is precisely the play on language that creates a new contemporary Andean identity.

As Vargas reappropriates the time, space and language of literature in his novel, two things become apparent: The first is that he is resignifying contemporary Cusqueñan culture, and the second is that he is creating a discourse on belonging and non-belonging. Jonathan begins the novel by establishing a discourse on intellectual pertinence and non-pertinence. As the three friends go into Abelardo’s house, they find Abelardo’s father there post-shower in only a towel. Jonathan struggles with his anger towards Abelardo’s father, and seeks Nietzsche’s and other philosophical theories as comfort. Yet by doing so, he separates himself from his friends:

> El rostro de Jonathan se coloreó increíblemente. Nabokov, Gogol, Dostoievsky, Chejov. Ellos dicen que todos se ponen colorados, co-lo-ra-dos, de la nada; de la nada: o de cualquier cosa... Pero ellos no han leído ni a Wilde, como se explican entonces. ¡Cómo se expli-carí-an! ¡Cómo! Ellos no pueden entender el sonrojo. ¡Y como explicárselo! E l p a p a d e a b e l a r d o n-o-n-o-n-o-n-o-n-o piensa, piensa... Voluntad, voluntad, voluntad. Jamás te van a entender (*Antes* 185).

Language is deconstructed as Jonathan realizes that while he pertains to the society of philosophers who would understand why he is blushing, he is unable to articulate to his friends his reasoning because he realizes that because he is an outsider, he would never be able to communicate his feelings.

Later, we see the same discussion on belonging and non-belonging, but this time it is not based on intellectual categorizations like in Jonathan's case, but on appearance. Although Jonathan expresses hope that Cusco can be a "gran aldea global," he doubts that it could ever happen. "¿Cuándo? Pero... ¿Somos, los cusqueños, en realidad, parte de la aldea global?" (*Antes* 193) His question seems to be answered in the exchange that they have in front of the club *Mithology* (sic) one night. The three, accompanied by Brittany, attempt to enter. The doorman asks the three friends for their documents, but seems to overlook Brittany. Fabiola takes note and asks why. "Porque es extranjera, hay que tratar bien al turista," (*Antes* 214) is the reply that she receives. As she argues with the doorman about the price to enter, he waves in a group of foreigners without hesitation. Fabiola is furious, but she resolves to pay for all three so that she does not make a bad impression on Brittany. Nevertheless, as the group enters happily, she stays behind. She says to the doorman,

> ¿Sabes qué? Las cosas van a cambiar muy pronto y cuando eso pase vas a estar muy fregado, más fregado que ahora. -Ya, ya. Ingresa nomás amiga. Mira que yo te puedo sacar cuando me dé la gana. Estando así borracha, debería darte vergüenza. -Yo estaré ebria..." Fabiola responds, "pero tú... no eres... pues; a mí mañana se me pasa, a ti no." (*Antes* 215)

Fabiola struggles with those structures of belonging and non-belonging that society puts in place, and that even she feels that she must subscribe to in order to make a good impression on those who do not belong according to her perspective. However, she knows that the limits of belonging and non-belonging that society puts in place are not congruent with her own, and she realizes that her discourses, albeit from the margins, will destabilize and deconstruct those definitions. Soon, she threatens, soon those borders of belonging will coincide with her definition of identity and not with that which is defined in the market by international tourism.

Appearance, in fact, seems to be one of the most important factors in the stratification of society. As we see in the following section, the plurality of discourses on appearance make it difficult to categorize yet also make appearance one of the defining characteristics of contemporary Cusqueñan society. The three friends are headed with Brittany and Arsenie to Poroy, and they get on a *combi*, hoping that they are headed in the right direction. [95] Fabiola is mesmerized with the language and the appearance of the *cobrador* until a group of *señoras* wearing *q'eperinas* fill up the *combi*.[96] [97] The sounds of their voices and the rainbow of the stripes of their garments create a sensory experience for the friends. "Fabiola reconocía el atardecer hecho arco-iris en cada una de las q'eperinas y en donde ella encontraba el resumen perfecto de un círculo cromático, Brittany encontraba sólo olor a hierbas de cocina que no sabía diferenciar. Todo esto ocurría y para Jonathan sólo importaba su corazón geométrico, lleno de aristas." (*Antes* 233) Jonathan and Fabiola are able to appreciate the *q'eperinas* through their own individual lenses, Jonathan through a mathematical one and Fabiola through an artistic

[95] Poroy is a small town outside of the city of Cusco, where the train to Aguas Calientes takes tourists to Machu Picchu.
[96] A *cobrador* is the person who takes the passengers' money and announces stops in the *combi.*
[97] A *q'eperina* is a woven cloth, draped around one's back and tied in the front. This typically Andean garment is used by both men and women to carry large loads and even to carry babies.

one, but both through an Andean perception of reality, while Brittany is unable to even understand the beauty of what lies all around her.

They arrive at their stop, and as they wait for the next *combi*, it seems as if Brittany's foreignness is painfully obvious to everyone except for herself. The old woman at the bus stop notes the difference between the Cusqueñans and the foreigners. "Arsenie y Brittany fueron a sentarse en la banca del paradero... La anciana que estaba esperando ahí sintió que los extranjeros hedían a cadáver, el temor la estremeció y santiguándose comenzó a caminar lento hasta perderse carretera arriba." (*Antes* 234-235) This time, it is not the representative of the international market that casts Cusqueñans into the category of Other, but the other way around; the *anciana* smells the foreignness that Brittany and Arsenie emanate and relates it to the smell of cadavers. Although her categorization is not as violent as the opposite scene in the night club, her distinction is clear. They are foreign, not because of where they are from, but because of their inability to understand Andean culture. Their sensory essence contrasts starkly with the sweet delectable smell and taste of Abelardo and Fabiola. Even when Brittany tries to understand, like when she asks Fabiola and Abelardo about San Cristobal, she is unable: "De sus bocas salían fibras de colores, espuma y palabras largas. Brittany, algo confundida, no quiso preguntar más." (*Antes* 269) The culminating point of the distinction between belonging and non-belonging comes from Jonathan's realization that he does not love Brittany. "Abraza a Brittany... pero no la quiere. Piensa que por el corazón de la extranjera no corre sangre sino faltas ortográficas. Su tristeza fue una frase de papel en el cielo y su sangre, una pasta dolorosa." (285) Brittany's heart is reduced to language, but language with spelling errors, contrasting with Jonathan's own reappropriation of language as we saw with *ójalá*.

This idea of pertinence is linked to the concept of recognition. For Vargas, as well as for Arguedas in *Los zorros*, recognition is the necessary quality of existence. Horacio Legrás explains in *Literature and Subjection* (2008) that in *Los zorros* Arguedas is the first to effectively address the question of subjection (literally of being a subject instead of an object) as the underlying grammar of literary representation (197). He explains that Arguedas goes beyond the limits of traditional *indigenismo* because, while *indigenismo* attempted to give a space in the definition of nation to indigenous people, their recognition could only go so far as the writers who represented them would allow, whether consciously or unconsciously (Legrás 197). For Legrás, *Los zorros* explicitly refuses to validate the dominant culture's logic of recognition, and instead creates its own rules for recognition compatible with the logic of the Andean cosmovision (198). It creates this new system of recognition through language (Legrás 234). He attributes to Arguedas the dissolution of the historical project of Latin American literature (like the project that Sommer details in *Foundational Fictions*) because, as he concludes the article, "The more he strove to ground Chimbote in what was unique to it, the more he unearthed the abyss of the event of language…" (Legrás 238) In other words, in an effort to recognize contemporary Andean literature through its own paradigms of recognition, he arrived at the critical role of communication (or incommunication) of language.

Contemporary writers like Vargas have yet to harness the power of language that Arguedas unearthed, but they do utilize its power of recognition in the same way. Now, through language, and therefore through literature, Vargas (and others) are able to create inherently Andean systems of recognition, following Arguedas's lead. As we have seen in the contrast between Vargas's Chapter 0 and the rest of his novel though, both Arguedas and Vargas recognize that their literary expressions fall on the margins of a hegemonic discourse that has distinct rules for recognition and that also utilizes language

to do so.[98] Only in the dream sequence of Chapter 0 can a completely new system of rules and recognition exist.

Let us look at Fabiola's reasoning behind her suicide and her need for recognition. The three friends discuss their views on recognition as the plan of Fabiola's suicide becomes more a reality than a whimsical idea. Jonathan and Abelardo ask Fabiola the reason behind her idea to feign her suicide. At first she is hesitant to respond preferring to not exist in their eyes as an artist than to let them in and risk belonging or not belonging. But she gives in and explains her ideas behind transcendence and recognition:

> Yo quiero que la gente me crea de verdad, que la gente me reconozca de verdad, o sea, de verdad, de verdad, no como ustedes. Ustedes no son capaces de verme como pintora... Yo creo que lo que mueve a los humanos es la necesidad de reconocimiento, es decir: uno existe porque es reconocido (*Antes* 247).

She continues later, linking this question of recognition to her art. "Una cosa bien fregada es no sentirse humano, que la demás gente te haga sentir inexistente –por eso pinto, para mostrar lo que el común no ve o para mostrarme a mí que no me ven, por eso pinto, pinto, pinto. Yo pinto-." (*Antes* 251) Fabiola gives her own artistic expression the same qualities that Schwab gives language in literature. In his prologue, Vargas even links the concept of recognition to the idea of stopping time:

> Entonces, nosotros como occidentales concebimos el tiempo como una propiedad (gastamos tiempo, perdemos tiempo, el tiempo es dinero) y no pues. No vamos a poder adueñarnos del tiempo mediante tecnología fácil... A todo esto se propone la literatura como herramienta de existencia. Mediante la literatura se existe de verdad, es decir, uno detiene el tiempo y *es* mediante una obra de arte (*Antes* 8).

Through literature, then, comes recognition, and as Vargas puts it, through literature comes existence. Language is the tool to reappropriate the time and space of literature in order to arrive at a state of recognition. The entirety of *Antes que las primeras veces se*

[98] We could relate Vargas's dream sequence in Chapter 0 compared with the rest of his novel to the narration versus the diaries in *Los zorros* in their construction of fantasy spaces through language.

terminen is an investigation into the place of contemporary Andean society within pre-existing ideals. Culture, commodification and academic pursuits push the borders of this structure, sometimes with success and many times without, like in the case of Fabiola's suicide. But the fundamental source of their recognition remains the same: language provides the tools with which they create their own contemporary Andean identity.

Vargas's collection of mostly previously published stories, *Kunan pop* (2010), represents exactly what its title proposes: *Kunan* means today or now in Quechua, and the *pop* comes, of course, from popular culture. The collection is a representation of today's contemporary Andean identity constructed from Andean culture, international pop culture and a focus on the present. These stories, just like *Antes que las primeras veces*, could be read as juvenile because their protagonists consist of young people working out their place in today's society, as Luis Nieto Degregori describes them on the back of the book:

> Jóvenes con ganas de vivir, de hacerla en un mundo roto, que apesta. Incluso si la ciudad es bella como un príncipe e invita a la juerga, sólo puede ser disfrutada al precio de romper todas las conveniencias, de moverse al filo. Y entonces el salto al vacío es una tentación difícil de vencer. Jóvenes que hieren y se hieren. Jóvenes *(Kunan pop*, back cover).

Still, just like in Mirano's works and in Vargas's previous novel, there is an underlying cultural project that cannot be explained by simply calling the collection juvenile. The project develops throughout the collection, yet it clarifies itself in the last story of the collection, "Kunan Cristo," the only story not previously published. In the story, Vargas gives new significance to the religious side of contemporary Cusqueñan culture, using Christ as a symbol of the ideology that "Todos somos cholos" and reappropriating the oppressive Catholic ideology imposed during the Conquest. In fact, throughout the entire collection, we see a continued rearticulation of time, space and language, centered on the idea of existence through recognition. Cusco is once again at once the setting and the

main character, and young people similar to Fabiola, Jonathan, Abelardo and even the author himself are the transporters of the project of the creation of new contemporary Andean identitary paradigms through literature. Their age allows them a fresh perspective on Cusqueñan society, and gives them the freedom to move along the borders of the confines of society without being completely cast out of society for not belonging, but being given somewhat of a "free pass" to break the rules without the consequences that a full member of society, or an adult, would have.

There are fourteen stories in the collection, but I have chosen to only analyze the four that actively construct new discourses on space, time and language to create this new Andean identity. The first of the four is also the first in the collection, "La mayonesa casera (2005)." It is a relatively short story that recounts the tale of an adolescent who has decided to make homemade mayonnaise. He tells his tired and defeated mother, "Dime nomás los ingredientes, yo ya veo como lo hago," (*Kunan pop* 11) showing his excitement to create something new, and perhaps his naïveté at thinking that he can make it just knowing the ingredients. Mayonnaise becomes a symbol for identity for this new generation of Cusqueñans that they boy represents, and the ingredients could very well be those ingredients that Fabiola, Jonathan and Abelardo represent in *Antes que las primeras veces se terminen*, or any other combination of "ingredients" proposed by members of this generation. The boy continues with his excitement: "Hacerla nosotros mismos hace que la mayonesa sea la más rica del mundo." (*Kunan pop* 11) He contrasts the construction of an identity using elements from his own culture versus foreign influences. The boy's mother tells him the ingredients hesitantly, and he places them all in the blender. His mother cautions him to put the top on, but in the boy's excitement, he does not take heed; homemade mayonnaise goes all over the kitchen. Cusco's construction of a new Andean identity explodes and in effect, fails. "Hay un sol en la mesa," his mother

says, “ahorita mismo me vas a comprar la mayonesa de sobre.” (11) His mother resorts to that which has always worked, an identity that comes pre-constructed from foreign influences.

While the story may seem simple, Vargas not only relates the homemade mayonnaise to the identity that is being created by this new generation of Cusqueñans; he also underscores the necessity of learning from the past. Previous generations, like that of the boy’s mother, may be defeated and tired, but they possess knowledge that is critical in the creation of a new perspective on identity. However, Vargas does not leave the metaphor so simply. Although the story ends with the mother’s demand to buy mayonnaise from the store instead of trying again, the boy’s attitude towards the advice of his mother reflects Vargas’s true message in the story: We may fail in the construction of a new identity, but that is not an excuse to turn to pre-made versions of identity created by the national or international market. The story serves as a solid introduction to Vargas’s project throughout the collection, introducing his readers to new ways of creating what has always already been created for Andean culture in the past.

“El país sin puerto” (2004) is a relatively longer, oniric story of a boy’s trip out of the country with his mother. The story is ambiguous in its location, and we as readers are never quite sure of which country the boy is from, or which country he is visiting. Yet as Vargas inserts descriptions of the airport, the people, and the country from the boy’s point of view, he demonstrates to his readers that the boy is visiting Peru, most likely Cusco, from a country that is much more “developed.” In the words of the boy, “La capital de mi país era mucho más grande, moderna y congestionada como para dejarme impresionar por una aglomeración de millón y medio de personas paupérrimas en una imitación de gran ciudad.” (*Kunan pop* 13) The boy’s perspective towards the country and its people is angry and defensive, reminding us of the archaic anxiety provoked in

hegemonic discourses by a lack of language (Bhabha "DissemiNation" 316). In fact, language, or a lack of language, in this case, proves to be a source of extreme aggressiveness yet a form of agency for those discourses that come from the margins, or in this case, from the city the boy and his mother are visiting. From the moment the two travelers arrive at the airport, the boy feels that he is being attacked, not from the language of those who he encounters in the airport, because he is unable to communicate with the people from the country, but because of the altitude and the structures and rules set in place by the country itself. The boy and his mother rush from their flight to get on a plane to their home country, but they find themselves lost and unable to interpret the organization of the airport and of the country's cultural codes. They ask people for directions to no avail, because they are unable to communicate in any way with the people in the airport. The story quickly takes on a nightmarish quality, and the people from the country seem like zombies to the boy. "De cabellos tan oscuros y opacos como un buen cuento de terror, todos con la misma expresión de aburrimiento, de la misma talla, y el mismo peso." (*Kunan pop* 14)

The only way that he can get a message across to the people in the airport is through physical force. "-¡Señor! ¡Señor! -le dije con una de mis mejores sonrisas-, disculpe... ¿sabe usted donde esta la sala de embarque internacional, por favor? El individuo se limitó a escucharme mirando al suelo y siguió su rumbo dejándome con las palabras en la boca." (*Kunan pop* 15) This scene repeats itself a number of times before the boy realizes that his language is not communicating with the people to whom he is speaking: "Encontré a otro empleado, lo sujeté con fuerza del brazo haciéndole retroceder. -¡Oiga! ¡Me puede decir hacia dónde debo ir para llegar al embarque internacional? Esta vez me señaló una de las cuatro puertas. Asombrado le agradecí." (15) Even when the boy is able to get his message across through physical force, the

airport employee refuses to engage in verbal communication with him. In fact, the reason that the boy cannot communicate with the people in the airport is because he is objectifying them, just as he is objectifying the city itself. When the boy encounters a beautiful employee, he describes her as if he were describing the city. “Sin pensarlo, al alzar la cabeza, quedé hechizado por la beldad que tenía en frente de mí. Carita puntiaguda, de ojos claros y artificiales, orejas pequeñas, nariz también delgada...” (15) As he objectifies her, he becomes sicker and sicker physically. The reason for his sickness is ambiguous: it may be the altitude, or perhaps, it is the reaction that the city has to his objectifying perspective.

Communication through language is determined by the distinction between belonging and non-belonging, as we saw previously in Vargas’s novel. Upon being objectified by a foreign point of view, Cusco draws its own lines of belonging and non-belonging, and casts the boy to the outside. The phenomenon of recognition that Arguedas establishes in *Los zorros* is repeated in this story. As Legrás puts it, “For Arguedas, the indigenous community need not reveal itself in any light other than its own,” (198) and the same is true of Vargas. The boy realizes that he does not belong, and gets angrier and more desperate at the lack of recognition.

The boy and his mother finally make it to their gate, but they arrive moments after the plane has already left. They are forced to stay the night in the country. The boy’s physical maladies subside temporarily as he himself attempts to value the country instead of objectifying it. He appreciates the “carretera en excelentes condiciones, la cantidad de edificios tan juntos como si quisieran amarse unos a otros,” (*Kunan pop* 20) and realizes that, “la mezcla exacta entre montañas altísimas y los predios hacían mágico el panorama.” (20) However, his definition of beauty is foreign and alienating because it is his version of beauty based on the standards of his “more developed” and “more modern”

country. He is still unable to communicate with the people in the country through language, even when he attempts to buy film and batteries for his camera or tries to speak with the attendant at the hotel. The beauty that he sees remains a beauty constructed from an objectifying perspective, as we see when he mentions that he would like to take a photo "para inmortalizar ese bello espectáculo," (*Kunan pop* 22) freezing it in time like Nugent elucidates in *El laberinto de la choledad*.

Although the voices of the inhabitants of the country that the boy and his mother visit rarely appear in the story, if at all, this does not mean that they do not practice any agency. On the contrary, Vargas utilizes their silence to give them agency as they actively refuse to recognize the boy in order to keep him from dominating their culture. They also refuse to allow him to take a picture of their city or of them, which would only further objectify them, making their country and their culture timeless, and therefore incompatible with modernity. After he buys film and batteries for his camera, he returns to the hotel and opens up the film canisters only to find them filled with sand and encounters that the batteries have been adulterated. And when he steps outside to snap a picture, someone runs by and snatches the camera from his hands. After all of his efforts, he realizes that his perspective will never allow him to participate or communicate with the country or its culture. "-Má," he concludes, "una mierda este país." (*Kunan pop* 22)

While in "El país sin puerto" Vargas's readers are presented with a contrast between cultures from a foreign point of view in which the agency of the contemporary Andean identity still prevails, "Viáticos de un avión que hiere la tarde" offers us a local perspective on identity and violence while in the presence of foreigners. Like the previous story, this story also recounts in first person the details of a trip. "El país sin puerto" takes place in an airport, though, while the narrator in "Viáticos" travels on a bus, and we as readers watch as a plane cuts across the sky. To pass the time, the narrator

guesses the names of the passengers that are seated ahead of him in the bus, exercising the power of naming, and creating his own version of reality. “En el asiento contiguo hay dos señoras comerciantes: Doris... Doris... Moris, Dina, Paulina, Ubinas, Ubinas. Una se llama Ubinas y la otra... Maju, Maju.” (*Kunan pop* 51) Language once again is the medium that gives agency. The narrator discovers two foreigners seated a couple of rows ahead. “Preston, Breston, Valtimor, Justin, Justin, Justin y Nick. Nick y Justin parecen europeos, viejos amigos de infancia. Han huido de una ciudad de cartón -->> en busca de la felicidad.” (51-52) This time we perceive the country of origin from the perspective of the narrator, who deems it a “cardboard city,” without character and without a name. They are in search of happiness, but, as the narrator explains, “La identidad se pierde en bus.” (52) The European travelers are given an identity by the narrator because he, not them, has the power of language in the form of the story that we are reading. Therefore he is able to create their identity at will.

Yet when authorities stop the bus and ask for documents, the narrator experiences a crisis: he has not created a name for himself through language in his literary construction of the story. Without a name, he does not provide himself an identity. He frantically searches for a name, but the canonical literary greats with whom he identifies do not seem to work: “-Rimbaud -cada vez son más violentos, todos gritan-. Yo Verlain, France ¡France! - Eielson, Jorge Eduardo; soy, soy de Lima...” (*Kunan pop* 52) The narrator cannot seem to create a name for himself: “Tal vez todo sería más fácil si tuviera nombre. Un nombre. Un nombre.” (52) He turns away from literary culture to pop culture, reminding us of Jonathan and Abelardo in *Antes que las primeras veces*, intellectual and academic identity versus pop culture and the international market, two of the three parts that make up a contemporary Andean identity. “Ashton, Britney, Carry, Hillary, Paris, Celso, Menso, Carlos, David, Juan.” (52) In the end though, he is unable

to create a concept of self through language by taking on foreign identity. Rimbaud and Verlaine are from France, and Eielson is Peruvian, but from Lima. Pop culture is imported from the United States. None of them suffice for the narrator.

The narrator concludes with a seemingly unrelated image that echoes the title of the story: "Recuerdo cuando era un avión diminuto hiriendo la tarde, viendo una inmensa ciudad del Perú moderno. Infinitamente sangrante, desconocido. Avión único e incógnito para el mundo. Avión aniquilado. Avión." (*Kunan pop* 52) We are presented with the image of a plane, which for many is the epitome of technological advances of the past century, but of a plane that is wounded and falling towards a large modern Peruvian city. In effect, the plane represents the narrator's attempts at the creation of identity through literature only through foreign influences, without the contemporary Andean element of identity. Modernity, violence and technological progress are all linked together as language becomes simpler and simpler. Sentences become shorter and shorter until we are left with a single word. Vargas presents his readers with a perspective on modernity that is distinct from that of the works we have previously analyzed here. Since literature can utilize language as a tool for positive construction, the violence and destruction of modernity cause language to simplify and communication to diminish or be obliterated completely, ultimately signifying the impossibility of the creation of a concept of self. This violence and destruction comes from the failure to recognize the inherent elements of an Andean identity and an attempt to imitate foreign literature in order to create a contemporary Andean notion of identity.

In the last story of the collection, "Kunan cristo," (2010) Vargas reappropriates the language and discourse of Catholicism into a form that is compatible with his version of a contemporary Andean identity. Since the times of the Conquest, the spread of Catholicism has been the justification for violence against indigenous populations in Peru

and throughout Latin America. However, after over 500 years of syncretism between Andean religious beliefs and Catholic beliefs, contemporary Andean society has religious beliefs that are deeply rooted in the teachings of Catholicism. As Mirano describes in his last essay, Catholic rituals often merged (and continue to merge) with Andean rituals in order to provide for the survival of Andean religious practices ("Fundamentación" np). Vargas's intention in this story is not to undermine Catholic teachings or blaspheme the religious beliefs of the Andes. Instead, he renews a discourse on Catholic beliefs, hence making it compatible with its societal context. Vargas achieves this resignification not only through the content of the story, but also through its form and language. Each sentence (or sometimes section) in the story is numbered in the same fashion as the Bible, in chapters and verses. The story starts out at Chapter 1 and each "verse" is numbered 1 through 28. By formatting the story in this way, Vargas proposes through form that this story has as much literary veracity as those found in the Bible.

"Kunan Cristo" tells the story of an effigy of Christ in a church that begins to move and come to life, right before the consecration of the bread and the wine during mass. As he leaves his place on the cross, the congregation starts to suffer the same wounds that Christ suffered from during the crucifixion and from which he still seems to suffer. The narrator describes the development of the events:

> Que desclaven a Cristo abriendo sus heridas nos hacía sangrar. El dolor fue apareciendo después, poco a poco, sin embargo, nadie lloraba... Un alivio, toda la pus, todo el asco, todas las lágrimas (que fueron injustas, no como la lluvia que es un llanto natural), se salía por nuestras palmas, por encima de nuestros pies, por una zanja que todos, supongo, teníamos en las costillas (*Kunan pop* 80).

The Christ in the story, whom the narrator describes as a Christ with a blonde beard and a womanly voice, breaking with traditional conception of Christ's appearance, speaks to the congregation, explaining to them how they are all the same:

> Us-te-des son yo. Yo soy us-te-des. Ca-da u-no es el o-tro. Ca-da he-ri-da mi-a es de us-te-des y ca-da he-ri-da de u-no es he-ri-da del o-tro. Ya no hay o-ve-jas ni pas-to-res. Y en es-ta tie-rra, en es-ta ex-tra-ña pa-tria don-de hay mu-cha gen-te que to-da-vía no co-me mo-ne-das y que se-rá la se-mi-lla de es-te nue-vo mun-do que hoy se i-ni-cia, y les di-go: seamos todos cholos. Entonces hubo un gran temblor y todo comenzó a ocurrir (*Kunan pop* 81).

His deconstructed language, much like the language in "Viáticos," is an embodiment of the violence that Catholicism has imparted on the population. Yet in spite of the effects of the violence on language, he is still able to communicate with his congregation, and he is able to create a new identity that makes him and his congregation equals. He proposes that everyone take on the *cholo* identity, and as he does so, a pair of hands covered in dirt and holding a beautiful *chullo* emerge from the altar.[99] The hands turn into a brilliantly dark-skinned naked woman with abundant breasts, powerful hips and a wide waist. The narrator exclaims, "Sentí que su vulva era la representación de todos los poderes, de todas las magias y de la fe general," (*Kunan pop* 81) making the woman an embodiment of the Pacha Mama and linking Catholicism to Andean religious beliefs.[100] She grows until she is the same height as Christ, demonstrating that she too, like Christ and his congregation, are all equals. The *Kunan* Christ does not hold power over the Pacha Mama, like the Christ of the past. The narrator goes to wash the *Kunan* Christ's feet, and the Christ concludes the story by announcing, "No volveremos a sangrar de estas maneras. Ahora vivo con ustedes, en sus casas. Yo soy cada uno de ustedes y cada uno de ustedes es el otro. Todos somos cholos." (82)

This last story demonstrates how Vargas's reappropriation of time, space and language has expanded in order to resignify the violent connotation of the Catholic Church's involvement in the subjection of indigenous people during the conquest of the New World. Instead of creating an identity from the events of the past, in "Kunan Cristo"

[99] *Chullu* is the Quechua word for a woven cap typically worn in the Andean region.
[100] The Pacha Mama is the Quechua goddess of fertility, who is worshipped throughout the Andes.

Vargas proposes that we move on from the past and create a contemporary Andean society that has learned from the past yet uses the present, the *kunan* to construct notions of identity.

CONCLUSION

If we look at the trajectory of literary expression from Arguedas's *Los zorros* until contemporary Cusqueñan publication, we can see two general directionalities. The first is that literature is now being written *through* an Andean perspective or cosmovision. Andean literature is no longer being written *about* the Andes. Arguedas began a literary movement in which an Andean view of the world and of literature itself provided the foundational structure upon which authors produced their literature. In the decades of the 80s and 90s we see an overarching *wakcha* identity as the expression of this still unstable worldview. In contemporary narrative, identity is relatively more stabilized, allowing prose writers to not only take over identitary expressions of the Andean cosmovision, but to also reappropriate language, space and even literature itself to fit their contemporary Andean identity.

The second trend is linked to the directionality of Andean migration within the country and outside of the country, and is once again predicted by the example of Arguedas's texts. As many scholars have noted, the themes and spaces of Arguedas's works move along with the concerns of the country in reference to the Andean region. In his first texts we see a focus on the power structures of small Andean towns. Then his focus grows larger to include the relationships between the coastal regions and small Andean towns. And finally, as in *Los zorros*, Arguedas's focus is much broader: he includes Peruvians who have migrated from Andean towns to the coast, small business

owners and large national and even international corporations. Writers in the 80s and 90s continue this trend. Migration to the coast that was previously spurred by economic survival and concerns was now an escape from the violence of the internal war. However, Andean immigrants on the coast did not find the booming industries that immigrants in Arguedas's time found. Instead they were faced with the same or even more profound hardships than they had left behind. The transformations in power structures due to the changes in the economy left them without a future and without a past, stuck in a *no lugar* as *wakchas* without a home.

In the most recent years, Andean society has begun to understand that it is not subject to coastal or international definitions of modernity. The definition of "Andean" has transformed in terms of space, language and literature. As far as space, Andean identity is no longer determined by geographical constraints, nor is it determined by the language one speaks. Literature is reappropriated according to an Andean world view, leaving the hegemonic conceptions of literature behind, allowing contemporary Andean literature its own expression outside of hegemonic or canonical definitions of literary expression, whether these definitions come from publishing houses, academia, literary critics, or from the writers themselves.

Two examples of this reappropriation of language and literature to fit into a contemporary world view are prose writers Braulio Mirano and Jorge Vargas. We can see through their various works how their rearticulations of space, time and language create a contemporary entity that does not depend on foreign definitions of modernity, whether those are definitions that come from Lima or from foreign countries. Instead, just as Arguedas does with *Los zorros*, recognition is constructed in its own terms through language. Fabiola realizes at the end of *Antes que las primeras veces* that recognition of a contemporary Andean identity cannot rest on the decisions of the national or international

market, on pop culture, or on Westernized academic definitions of what art is. Fabiola, like Vargas and Mirano, and of course Arguedas, realize that recognition must come from within.

Chapter 3: *Cusco después del silencio*: Contemporary Cusqueñan Feminine Narrative

INTRODUCTION

In the previous two chapters I have analyzed Andean and specifically Cusqueñan narrative in the years following the publication of José María Arguedas's *El zorro de arriba y el zorro de abajo* (1971). In this novel, Arguedas articulates a topography where ethnicity, gender, social class and physiological life have vanished before regulated forms of subjectification. He leaves behind an atmosphere populated with fragments of a past Andean identity that no longer functions in what we would now label an incipient globalization. It will be up to those who follow to reconstruct this distinction through the lens of an Andean cosmovision more in tune with a contemporary context.

Narrative writers of the 80s and 90s perceive the violent reality of a country embroiled in internal war through an Andean world view by taking on the inherently Andean *wakcha* identity, as I have stated in my introduction and in Chapter 1. Lack of recognition and pertinence makes it difficult to specifically pinpoint Cusqueñan writers in this time period: instead, the authors I analyze in the first chapter embody and write from a more general Andean character. While they recognize the need to write through an Andean perspective, they are unable to come to terms with the violence of Senderismo and move on the margins of the "black hole" that the internal war represented, one that swallows up everything in its wake, including those remnants of Andean identification left behind by Arguedas. They are *wakchas* in their literary production just as their characters are *wakchas* in their belonging to and recognition by their community.

In the most recent decade, narrative writers continue to write from the perspective of an Andean cosmovision although, unlike their predecessors of the 80s and 90s, they are able to pick up the fragments of the no-longer pertinent Andean identity of the past to reconstruct a contemporary identitary conceptualization based on the creative spaces of the *chicherí*a, *chicha* itself, and the overarching concept of *choledad*. By subverting official discourses on nation and national identity, writers of the present decade look hopefully toward the future from a present that has reconciled its past.

In this chapter, I look at a marginal discourse even within Andean literary expression. Contemporary feminine Cusqueñan narrative is an undervalued and understudied subfield in literary criticism. Women writers in Cusco manage their doubly marginal identities through unique technologies of expression that allow them to insert themselves within official literary paradigms in order to subvert them or to create new concepts of their identitary representations from within. I consider Clorinda Matto de Turner's turn-of-the-century works to be one of the first recognized examples of this trend. She criticizes the situation of marginalized groups, like that of women and of indigenous peoples in Peru within the homogenizing project of nation, and in doing so she seeks to cultivate an alternative national project that incorporates the Andean identity, along with the Limeño and European perspectives, into a representation of that which is Peruvian (Peluffo 121). Matto de Turner's groundbreaking and polemic insertion into literary production conceived by and created for young, educated, males concerned with the development and progress of the newly formed nation was followed both chronologically and ideologically by Genara Elorrieta de Aranzábal and Clorinda Caller Ibérico's socially critical works in the 1950s.

After the works of these three exceptional women, feminine Cusqueñan narrative undergoes a profound silence for another half century, until 2005. At this time, narrative

expression produced by Cusqueñan women explodes on the scene with works by Areli Aráoz, Karina Pacheco Medrano, Nataly Villena Vega, and Linda África Gutiérrez Agramonte. In this chapter, I utilize the silences in between the publication of these works as a starting point to analyze feminine Cusqueñan narrative, and I find that we must reevaluate literary terminology, considering alternative literary expressions like oral traditions, *testimonios*, and even news media, in order to "hear" through the silence. Women writers in Cusco do not disappear for decades only to appear in the most recent decade with well-developed literary styles. Instead, Matto de Turner represents the beginning of a trajectory of women writers in Cusco that continues to the present day who work within a double marginality as women and Andean to make their voices heard within the official discourses of nation and identity within Peru.

"UNA DOBLE MIRADA:" CLORINDA MATTO DE TURNER'S *AVES SIN NIDO* AND *VIAJE DE RECREO*

Many scholars are familiar with the canonical works of Clorinda Matto de Turner (1852-1909), a Cusqueñan narrative writer celebrated for her struggles to protect the rights of women and the indigenous population against abuses of a patriarchal society, but few, if any, could venture to speak about those women narrative writers in Cusco that follow Matto de Turner. Men's voices dominate Cusqueñan literature throughout the twentieth century, a counter-reflection of the progress for women's rights in social and political spheres initiated by the author and her contemporaries. Contrary to what the lack of attention to women's narrative in Cusco after Matto de Turner may imply, there exists a feminine narrative tradition in the region that extends to present production. Its lack of critical acknowledgment is due to the marginal nature of its expression. With the exception of two novels in the 1950s, *Fueron tres vidas* (1950) by Genara Elorrieta de

Aranzábal and *Doña Shabi* (1956) by Clorinda Caller Ibérico (1956), for almost a centuryfeminine narrative emerges from alternative sectors of literary production in oral histories and traditions written in the forms of origin myths, legends, tales and *testimonios*.

It is not until almost a hundred years after Matto de Turner's death that feminine Cusqueñan narrative explodes onto the traditionally male-dominated literary scene, constructing a feminine Andean identity within hegemonic national discourses. It would be an oversight to divide this movement into three separate and unrelated time periods. On the contrary, Matto de Turner's works are emblematic of a trajectory that continues through the present decade. Women writers utilize alternatives to canonic literary genres in order to insert themselves into literary discursivity, broadly understood. The "silence" produced by a lack of published novels of these years is only read as such if we maintain a narrow view of literature. In fact, even in works published in recent years, we can observe the same interjection of alternative expressions within traditional discursivities.

As Matto de Turner clearly demonstrates in her highly controversial and publicized *Aves sin nido* (1889) and in other works such as her posthumously published *Viaje de recreo* (1909), she and other Cusqueñan women worked from a double marginality; not only were they women writing in a male-dominated literary world, they were Andean women in a nation that rarely viewed cultural activity outside of its capital city as demonstrative of national identity (Ferreira 30). In fact, Matto de Turner's importance as a writer from the *sierra* concerned with national identity was ignored or subordinated for years after her death, as exemplified by José Carlos Mariátegui's exclusion of her works in his discussion of indigenous and *indigenista* literature in *Siete ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana* in 1928 (Peluffo 119). It would not be until 1934 with studies by Concha Meléndez and Aída Cometta Manzoni that *Aves sin*

nido begins to experience acceptance into *indigenista* literary discourses (Peluffo 119), although, as Ana Peluffo notes, while in the nineteenth century the author was considered too masculine, in the twentieth century her works are considered too sentimental to fit into traditional or canonical ideas of the literature of her time period (Peluffo 120). In other words, Matto de Turner is a product of and subject to what María Lugones coins as the colonial/modern gender system, a concept that builds on Aníbal Quijano's coloniality of power, expanding the colonial/modern world system to include a concept of gender based on heterosexist, patriarchal and dimorphic constructions that distorts or obfuscates that which exists at its intersections or margins (Lugones 192-193). The author occupies a border position with respect to the patriarchal structures of power, developing a conflictive relationship with hegemonic ideologies (Peluffo 129), not only of gender, but also in regards to race and the national identity because, while heterosexism is a key part of how gender fuses with race in the operation of colonial power (Lugones 186), coloniality permeates all aspects of social existence (Lugones 190).

Matto de Turner successfully inserts a feminine Andean voice into the accepted discourses of her time offering a contemporary social critique that condemns the abusive nature of power structures in her society posed against indigenous populations and women. *Aves sin nido* articulates this concern into a sharp social criticism that places the blame on the bureaucracies of both the Church and the State while exalting education as the solution to a more equal treatment of marginalized groups. Whereas Cornejo Polar points out, this solution calls specifically for an education that eliminates regional differences and dilutes the indigenous world in favor of the modernizing bourgeoisie ("Foreward" xxxix), interpreting Andean life in terms alien to it (xl), Matto de Turner awakens the national consciousness in regards to the situation of marginalized populations within the Peruvian nation (xl). It should be noted that Matto de Turner was

able to publish and be so influential in her time due to her upper class origins and her friendships with both Manuel González Prada, a Peruvian intellectual and social critic, and Juana Manuela Gorriti, an Argentine writer who facilitated Matto de Turner's hiring as editor at the newspaper *El Perú Ilustrado*. Thus, her criticism, while still innovative and pertinent, came from a marginal position deep within hegemonic structures. She uses the prestige of her social position and the revered place of domesticity in the discourses of the nineteenth century as a mask that legitimates her role as a public figure yet also as a feminine subject (Peluffo 128). However, even from such a privileged position in the national community she was conscious, and suffered the consequences of, her precarious marginal position due to her gender and her Andean origins (Peluffo 129).

The social criticism that marks *Aves sin nido* and many of Matto de Turner's other works is a testament to one of the most fundamental aspects of feminine narrative, not only in Cusco, but in all of Latin America. According to Dora Sales Salvador, "La escritora en América Latina ha actuado como testigo, y frente a las barbaridades políticas ha adoptado una posición deliberada de desafío ante el silencio impuesto." (21) Matto de Turner is one of the first Cusqueñan women writers to be recognized for breaking this imposed silence, and her legacy continues on in women writers today. Sonia Mattalía qualifies Matto de Turner's critical perspective as, "una doble mirada: la crítica, a veces oblicua, a veces irónica, a veces enfática, en su denuncia de los silencios de las voces que no llegan al monumento de la escritura y la constructiva, que lentamente estructura una mirada 'otra' sobre los discursos oficiales." (21-30) It is this double-vision that allows Matto de Turner to at once condemn official discourses and also insert herself into those very discussions in order to make her voice heard. The ability to perform a double critique is an example of Mignolo's *border* thinking in that being critical of both sides implies thinking from both traditions and neither at the same time (Mignolo 67). Her

border perspective is important despite the fact that, from a contemporary angle, her best work feels overtly sentimental and melodramatic, and her arguments have proved problematic for indigenous subjectivities.

In Matto de Turner's last text, a memoir of her trip through Europe, Rosa Núñez Pacheco notes that the author assumes the identity of widow, pilgrim and Cusqueña. "Su identidad se establece desde la otredad, lo distinto, lo diverso. No se puede pensar a sí mismo sino y en cuanto es Otro," (122) arguing that Matto de Turner's trip to Europe and her *Viaje de recreo* is a synthesis of her own existence (123). She is able to recognize her own identity in that of the populations she visits. She is at once the Self and the Other as she tranforms into what Cornejo Polar would later call the *sujeto migrante* (Ferreira 28).[101] We can observe this sentiment when Matto de Turner sees a statue of Christopher Columbus in Barcelona, one of her first experiences in Europe. For the author, Columbus is a fatherly figure that reaches out to receive his children, a soul that lives between the love of two worlds (*Viaje* 24):

> La majestuosa, imponente figura de Cristóbal Colón, aparece causando el effect de un padre de familia que sale á recibir á los hijos que llegan de heredades por él descubiertas. ¡Noble Colón! Los viajeros de América te saludamos reverentes, con los corazones palpitantes, con dulces emociones. No importa la muerte de tu cuepo (sic) entre los grillos de la prisión, ni la discusión sobre tus cenizas y y sepulcro, si tu alma vive en el amor de dos mundos, si tu labor estrecha á dos razas y tu obra se agranda porque América crece (*Viaje* 24).

[101] Antonio Cornejo Polar explains in his article "Una heterogeneidad no dialética: sujeto y discurso migrantes en el Perú moderno," that the *sujeto migrante* occupies a space where, "cualquier sentido puede solaparse y refundirse precisamente en el extremo que aparentemente se le opone." (841) He continues, describing the migrant discourse as, "radicalmente descentrado, en cuento se construye alrededor de ejes varios y asimétricos, de alguna manera incompatibles y contradictorios de un modo *no* dialéctico." (841) For the *sujeto migrante*, the there and here, which are also yesterday and today, reinforce the subject's enunciative aptitude, which in turn creates bifrontal, or even schizofrenic narratives (841). He concludes: "Considero que el desplazamiento migratorio duplica (o más) el territorio del sujeto y le ofrece o lo condena a hablar desde más de un lugar." (841)

She relates to his border position because it is also her own. She establishes herself as an Other, as a traveler who observes and participates knowing that she will never completely be a part of that society. This double-perspective is essential to her identitary and literary creation, and also to the production of narrative writers who follow this groundbreaking author.

Not only does she establish a foundation for what we now conceptualize as "border thinking" in contemporary Cusqueñan literary expression by women, Matto de Turner also reiterates the spatial configurations between different concepts of history (Mignolo 67). Her conscious identification as an Other between two worlds allows her the possibility of overcoming the limitation of territorial thinking. Matto de Turner is at once Cusqueñan and Spanish, she belongs as much as she does not belong, although we must remember that the author's identification with Spain is only possible because of her position in the bourgeosie elite class, as opposed to an indigenous woman writer. She is able to traverse the intersections between hegemonic and subordinate discourses because she exists outside of the intersection, in the homogenous category of "women" that is constructed from the identity of white bourgeois women (Peluffo 192-193).

Just like the author's perception of Cusco as a liminal space where indigenous peoples and Spanish descendants coexist and should do so without the subalternization of the former, Mignolo's concept of border thinking comes from the local histories of Spanish legacies in America (66). Thus, Matto de Turner represents a decidedly non-universal thinking situated in the legacy of what Mignolo coins as the modern/colonial world system. Her border identity is the result of coloniality and originates in the imperial expansion of Spain in the New World. Núñez Pacheco notes that *Viaje de recreo* is the synthesis of Matto de Turner's existence, not only in the sense of individual identification, but also in terms of expression of a border identity that doubly maneuvers

the margins of hegemonic discourses to modify and retrace their boundaries. In other words, Matto de Turner begins the process of changing the terms, not just the content of the conversation about the coloniality linked to modernity (Mignolo 70). It is in this sense, and in spite of the oversights concerning marginal subjectivities that a century of time makes clear, Matto de Turner embodies a foundation of the female writers of the region that follow.

CRITIZING RACIAL UTOPIAS OF THE NATION: *FUERON TRES VIDAS*, GENARA ELORRIETA DE ARANZÁBAL

After Matto de Turner's death in 1909, silence prevails in Cusqueñan feminine narrative for over forty years. The scarcity of publications points not only to the conditions of the publishing market, but also to a widespread assumption of the characteristics of quality literature and the social status of women in general. As previously noted, even Matto de Turner's works were considered insufficient as part of the national canon even by forward-thinking critics like Mariátegui until well into the 1930s when studies by Concha Meléndez and Aída Cometta Manzoni were published (Peluffo 119), but even today the literary quality and value of her work is still the subject of opposing readings and heated debates (Peluffo 120). Andean writers of all genders are not strangers to this displacement: most literature produced in the highlands of Peru is considered inferior precisely because of its geographical and thus cultural marginality in relation to the capitol of the nation. No publications by women writers come out until 1950 when Genara Elorrieta de Aranzábal prints *Fueron tres vidas*, the story of three couples who live on a ranch in Urubamba accompanied by a quick conclusion criticizing the lack of appreciation for indigenous labor in the economic development of the country.

Pedro J. Bravo Escobar, who writes the prologue to the book, hesitates to call it a novel. "No tiene la autora la pretensión de hacer una novela. Es una sencilla narración histórica, acondicionada a las típicas características de la vida en la montaña, tan desconocidas en el país, y cuyo acervo tradicional tiene mucho que explotar en las letras peruanas." (3) Perhaps his hesitation resides in his desire to insert Elorrieta's voice into the current of literature as social criticism, especially during the *indigenista* movement. By qualifying her writing as historical narrative instead of fiction, he gives her voice more power within the discourses of progress in relation to the position of indigenous populations within the nation.

In any manner, the fictional historical narrative, as we might call it, recounts the picturesque landscapes and the utopian life of a village in the Sacred Valley of the Andes. The only direct disapproval that enters the narration appears in the last pages, where the author underlines the negative social and economic implications of *gamonalismo* in the Andes in spite of their conscious efforts to "help" the Indian problem.[102] In the bibliography preceding the text, "El Sol" newspaper of Cusco introduces Elorrieta's readers to Urubamba in the following manner:

> … no hay ninguna capital de provincia que pueda ofrecer la comodidad de sus casas, la gentileza, la cortesía y la decencia de la gente de la Bella Ciudad, y es que flota en el ambiente el perfume que despiden sus jardines, la señorial arrogancia de sus mujeres, y el heroísmo e hidalguía de sus varones, altivos y caballeros como fueron los contemporáneos del Cid Campeador (Elorrieta 16).

[102] *Gamonalismo* developed in Peru at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century. It is a system reminiscent of medieval feudalism of highly privatized power in which local powers and landowners, mostly mestizos occupied an intermediary place between the rural Andean region and the urban centers of the coast, especially Lima (Degregori, Carlos Iván 165-166).

Only upon reading the last pages of the novel will the reader register the irony of this description when Elorrieta credits the successes of the men and women of the region to the hard working *campesino* class that supports them.[103]

The narrative reveals romantic leanings in the idyllic descriptions of landscapes and the single-faceted personalities of its characters. When the three couples marry and begin to act as one, Elorrieta pushes the characters even further out of their individuality and into stereotypes of middle to upper class Peruvian society. The women lose their individuality to the point that even the author confuses their names without major consequences to the plot. The only events that break the harmony of the household are outside forces: a puma that attacks small children, the widower's fall from a horse, and a jealous ex-girlfriend in Lima. Following the resolution of each obstacle, the family returns to their paradisiacal life in the Andes. Interestingly, each disruptive episode tangentially involves indigenous or marginal Peruvian populations.

For example, the puma that almost kills one of the babies in the ranch house has already killed two of the children of the barely-mentioned indigenous labor force who work on the ranch. However, only when the women find the puma in their own house, about to attack one of their babies, does the imminent danger truly register. Thankfully, Modesto, one of the laborers, arrives in time to kill the puma and save the baby. When a mountain lion attacks the widower's horse, throwing him to the ground, it is also Modesto who links the occurrence to the beliefs of the indigenous community. Earlier that day, the widower and his male companions shoot a large number of deer near the house. They give the meat to the families of their laborers, but Modesto knows that an

[103] The system of *gamonalismo* made the term *indio* synonymous with poor *campesino* and servant, and pushed the *indio* farther and farther away from the top of the ethnicized pyramid of Peru. (Degregori, Carlos Iván 167-168). As Elorrieta argues, however, it was the *campesino* class who was the foundation of the progress of the nation.

accident is imminent: indigenous oral traditions explain that long ago, deer and mountain lions, knowing the nature of humanity, made a pact of mutual protection. Anyone who hurts an innocent animal like the deer is subject to the vengeance of the mountain lion. Modesto's story demonstrates that those who feel unprotected really do have power in the most unexpected forms. Elorrieta's call for the credit to *campesinos* in the progress and development of the nation underlines the ignorantly unintentional abuses of this population by the landowning classes.

The last troublesome incident occurs when the family goes to their vacation house in Chorrillos, near Lima, for the holidays. A jealous ex-girlfriend seeks revenge for her thwarted efforts at rekindling her relationship with Jorge. She gains the trust of the women in the household, only to kidnap Jorge's son with the help of her two indigenous servants from the jungle. In the events that follow, one servant is killed and the other is badly injured. Julia, the wronged ex-girlfriend, claims her innocence as the narrator explains: "No se sentía culpable, porque ignoraba lo que hicieran los salvajes sin su conocimiento, actitud que ella suponía tomaron por cariño al hijo del Capitán, sin medir las consecuencias de aquel acto, muy corriente en la selva del Amazonas…" (Elorrieta 129-130) Her explanation exculpates her servants for their ignorance of the customs of civilized people, and thus, it falls directly into the logic of the State. She easily manipulates prejudices of indigenous peoples so that she is not blamed for the kidnapping, and she is quite successful. She is released from jail, and the family's only recourse is to return to the *sierra* as soon as possible.

Aside from these masked observations on the manner in which bourgeoisie Peruvian society takes advantage of or merely ignores the personhood of its indigenous population, the harmonious nature of the tale of the loves and successes of three happy couples situated in the tranquil surroundings of the Sacred Valley of the Incas contrasts

starkly with the social commentary at the end of the narration. Notwithstanding, the awkward placement of the remarks is not an afterthought of the author; she draws her readers through a beautiful story full of only happy endings in order to amplify the contrast with the real version of history in the conclusion. As Bravo Escobar underlines in the prologue, this story is not novel; it is historical. Elorrieta toys with her readers' expectations of a dreamlike vision of Andean life that excludes any indigenous members of society until the last pages, when she presents them with what she sees as the reality of the Andes:

> Quizás si en ninguna otra región del sur se bendice con tanto fervor como a los personajes de este relato, forjados por la buena fe, por misericordiosa comprensión y por un ansia de contribuir con un grano de arena al problema del indio, tan discutido en conferencias, libros, revistas y congresos, pero que continúa sumido en la ignorancia, en inicua explotación y odiosa esclavitud, pese a todo lo que se dice haber hecho por salvarlos… con grave daño para la nacionalidad, aunque sea duro decirlo (Elorrieta 140).

She gives credit to the family for their charitable acts of kindness, but argues that this charity is not enough. In fact, such ignorance affects the concept of nationality. If we return to the three disruptive episodes within the text, all three are linked to indigenous identity not only of the Andes but also of the Amazonian region of Peru, and we realize that Elorrieta's inclusion of these incidents is essential to her social protest within the novel. The utopic concept of nation is constantly indirectly disturbed by indigenous beliefs. The nation may provide well-intentioned charity for their subordinate citizens, but, Elorrieta argues, in the end this benevolent yet ignorant charity results in negative consequences for the country as a whole.

In spite of the author's romantic verbose descriptions of daily domestic life carried out by flat stereotyped characters, Elorrieta, like Matto de Turner, interprets her reality through a feminine space that is decidedly different from that of male writers

contemporary to the author. She situates her narrative in domestic spaces controlled by women, and women also direct the action of the story while their masculine counterparts accept their direction without hesitation. For example, the novel begins with Evangelina in a typically domestic space, setting the table and waiting for her father to arrive home, but instead she finds Elena drenched and scared on her doorstep. She invites the girl inside, listens to her story, and decides that she will allow her to stay. However, when her father arrives home, she asks him for permission, even though, as the author puts it, "[ya] la había elegido para su compañera." (Elorrieta 20) Women act within the spaces familiar to them or that pertain to them in order to manipulate the outcomes of situations in their lives, just as Elorrieta does with the narration itself in order to gain ground in her argument. We can see further examples of this manipulation from a feminine bourgeois position in Elena's match-making between Eduviges, the head housekeeper, and Don Juan, the groundskeeper: "Ni corta ni perezosa, Elena, ya convencida de que por allía (sic) andaba el dios Cupido, le comunicó a Jorge lo que había sacado en claro, de Eduviges, para que él a su vez investigara con don Juan, las intenciones que tenía respecto de su mamita…" (Elorrieta 66) Of course, Jorge does not hesitate to follow his wife's instructions. Even Julia, Jorge's jealous ex-girlfriend, seeks revenge through domestic means, by kidnapping his son and bringing him to her place of residence.

Elorrieta does not destabilize the masculine discourses of the nation in order to conceive of a space for women equal to that of men through her characters. In fact, all the details of the life of the three main female characters suggest that they are content with their place in society as wives, daughters, sisters and mothers. Elorrieta does, however, undermine national discourses on race, specifically on the "Indian problem" through a domestic, feminine space. Her argument for the recognition of indigenous people in the progress and modernization of the Peruvian nation stands without distinguishing women

as another marginalized group while at the same time using traditionally feminine spaces to do so.

CIVILIZING THE "SAVAGES?" *DOÑA SHABI*, CLORINDA CALLER IBÉRICO

Six years later, Clorinda Caller Ibérico publishes *Doña Shabi*, the shockingly violent and scathingly critical story of Doña Shabi, the *caudilla* of the jungle town of Shiringal whose mission to "civilize the savages" leads her to beat and murder her slaves and manipulate the townspeople for her own economic and personal gains.[104] With the help of her indigenous assistant and lover, Sabao, she kidnaps young indigenous girls from their homes in the jungle and takes them to Shiringal to sell them as slaves. Part of their "education" into submission includes extreme physical abuse on Doña Shabi's part and violent rape and sexual mutilation on Sabao's watch. The young girls are then sold to members of the community who are instructed in how to maintain their submission: make sure to hit them, even when they are good, so they do not forget "la costumbre de recibir palo," (Caller 59) and, of course, do not to teach them how to read. "Eso las malogra y las hace más burras." (52)

The novel is meant to be a call to justice for abuses against indigenous people, whether they are from the jungle or the mountains of Peru, in an effort to create a new national identity based on equality instead of purely economic motivation. In the prologue to the novel, José Uriel García compares Caller Ibérico with the "other Clorinda," but with "más penetrante sentido social (Caller 8)" and an "enérgica defensa de los desposeídos." (8) He praises the novel's modern and national character:

[104] *Caudillo* is used to describe a political-military leader with a charismatic personality who can generate broad sympathy throughout the population. It is sometimes translated loosely into English with negative connotations to terms such as warlord or dictator. In the context of *Doña Shabi*, the term is used in its feminine form to describe the main character of the novel.

> Novela peruana, de sentido moderno. Arte literario de subidos quilates. Literatura para el pueblo peruano, formado por millones de campesinos, así de la sierra como de la selva, que esperan ser incorporados a la cultura, logrando su liberación del estado de explotación en que se encuentran; que esperan su emancipación y no su reconquista (Caller 15).

Uriel García's well intentioned yet somewhat exaggerated praises link the works of Matto de Turner and Caller Ibérico, especially in regards to their social criticism for the betterment of the nation. However, Uriel García overlooks the shared feminine perspective that links the authors' marginality as women to their defense of the rights of indigenous populations. It is this feminine translation of their contemporary society that sets both writers apart from their male correlates. Women in *Doña Shabi* are the true protagonists of the novel, while men are powerless, acting out their impotence through raping and killing women.

If doña Shabi and the schoolteacher Esperanza interchangeably represent a malevolent, controlling feminine character, the three slave girls that Sabao kidnaps embody the other side of the equation. Occllo, Salomé and Esparta arrive at doña Shabi's house as a group, but the narrator quickly distinguishes Esparta from the other two older girls, because the young girl is *mestiza*. Due to her mixed ancestry and her beauty, she is given special attention: doña Shabi takes care to treat her worse than the other girls, shaving her head and even tattooing her face so that everyone will know she is a slave. Doña Shabi recognizes Esparta's agency as a woman, and therefore as someone who might threaten her power, so she promptly takes all precautions to dominate her. Occllo and Salomé, other the other hand, are of pure indigenous blood. Therefore they are not afforded even the most minimal voice in the narration, and Esparta becomes their representative voice when she escapes Shiringal.

In fact, the struggle between good and evil effectively resides in the oppositional characters of doña Shabi and Esparta. While doña Shabi demonstrates her power in

negative and selfish ways, Esparta gains consciousness of her own identity throughout the novel, learns Spanish and English, and finally escapes to the United States, where she trains to be a missionary and a nurse. Her goal is to use her newfound knowledge and power to help the state of the indigenous population in Shiringal, but when she asks to be transferred back to her home country, the church decides to send her to China, citing the danger she poses to their project. Abroad in China, she meets a French engineer, marries him, and the novel concludes as she writes a fellow missionary from the comfort of her warm living room.

With the exception of the last two chapters, the novel reads as a macabre depiction of life in the Peruvian jungle. In this light, the author succeeds in portraying the "civilizers" as barbarous and the "savages" as cultured and ethical. Caller Ibérico's vicious depiction of life in Shiringal echoes a more general social criticism of the Peruvian nation. Esparta, named after the city-state of ancient Greece praised for its militancy and for being the only city-state in which women received formal education, is the beacon of light for the transformation of national identity. Just as in Matto de Turner's *Aves sin nido*, *Doña Shabi* points to education as the solution to unequal treatment of women and indigenous peoples. Nevertheless, while in *Aves sin nido*, geographic space is divided into the Andean town of Kíllac and the utopic, modern and progressive Lima, in *Doña Shabi*, Shiringal is a backward unprogressive version of the capital city. The true utopias of Caller Ibérico's novel are foreign countries like the United States, China, and France. Shiringal as the extension of Peru contrasts with these progressive modern countries whose seemingly minimal internal issues allow them to offer support to the marginalized populations that Esparta represents.

In the last words of the novel, in a letter to her colleague and friend who was sent to Shiringal, Esparta expresses a distanced nostalgia for her home but contentment with the domestic space that she has created in her exile:

> Hay lugares donde el paisaje persiste inmutable y sin variedad, exactamente como en Shiringal. Entonces me siento un poco triste; pero mi tristeza se desvanece llegada la hora de la cena, cuando mi amado y yo encendemos nuestro farol chinesco… infundiéndonos un sentimiento de hogar de confort… Ansío tu carta. En ella aspiraré el olor de mis palmeras y el sabor de mis aguajes, y henchida de esa armonía campestre, madurará dentro de mí todo lo que algún día llevaré a mi Shiringal (Caller 160).

Esparta is an exception to the rule. Occllo and Salomé, the true indigenous representatives, remain in Shiringal without agency, simply because they are indigenous and Esparta is *mestiza*. Thus, Caller Ibérico proposes the education of *mestizos* as a solution to the "Indian problem," yet does not reach the actual heart of the dilemma, the indigenous people themselves. Esparta is unable to return to help either; this task is left up to foreign entities. So even more than proposing the education of a *mestiza* as a solution to the crisis of national identity, Caller Ibérico recommends that this education come from foreign sources, not from within. The protagonism of female characters like the malevolent doña Shabi and her beautiful and ethical converse Esparta attempts to break with Matto de Turner's transcultural and trans-class characterization of women as motherly "angels of the hearth," but the narration unfortunately falls into the same ideals: Esparta becomes a wife and creates her own domestic space from which she can express her concerns.

Women writers during this time period lean toward an expression of discontent with their surroundings through traditionally feminine spaces and characters. Matto de Turner, Elorrieta and Caller Ibérico all utilize these feminine spaces and characters to

criticize discourses on the "light side" of the colonial/modern gender system (Peluffo) based on an ahistorical heterosexist patriarchy from its margins to make their voices heard and offer their own solutions. The small number of narrative works published by women during this time period, though, signals that, few women have been able insert the own voices into male hegemony and Lima-centrism in literary discursivity. Additionally, women writers from Cusco dealt with the double marginality of being women and Andean. While some male Andean writers like Ciro Alegría and José María Arguedas were able to enter into the literary scene centralized in the capital, women from the *sierra* doubly struggled to do the same. Male Andean writers wrote from the margins, and their female counterparts wrote from the margins of those margins. While Matto de Turner was not the exception to the rule, her ability to traverse the borders between hegemonic and subordinate discourses was the result of her social position well within the confines of the elite upper class of the country.

The majority of women narrative writers before the "boom" of publications beginning in 2005 turned to alternative expressions like recording oral narratives and *testimonios* in lieu of adopting technologies of male-dominated narrative. Some of these alternatives include the tales of well-known storyteller Carmen Taripha, a monolingual Quechua speaker whose stories are recorded and translated by Jorge A. Lira in *Canto de amor* (1956), the works of anthropologist Carmen Escalante Gutiérrez, accompanied by her husband and fellow anthropologist Ricardo Valderrama Fernández,[105] who focus their investigations on gathering the oral histories and traditions of the Andean region, and the collection of *testimonios* of Cusqueñan domestic workers compiled by the adviser for the

[105] The ethnographic works of Carmen Escalante and Ricardo Valderrama include *Gregorio Condori Mamani: Autobiografía* (1979), *Del tata Mallku a la mama Pacha.- Riego, sociedad y ritos en los Andes peruanos* (1988), *Nosotros los humanos : ñuqanchik runakuna : testimonio de los quechuas del siglo XX* (1992), and *La doncella sacrificada: Mitos del valle de Colca* (1997) among various articles and oral translations published in journals, anthologies and other collections.

Sindicato de Trabajadoras del Hogar in Cusco Cristina Goutet under the pseudonym Ana Gutiérrez in 1993 through the Fondo de Cultura en México titled *Se necesita muchacha*. These unconventional literary expressions give Cusqueñan women a voice from within their double marginality without having to subordinate their discourses to the male-dominated genre of the novel.

OUTSIDERS AND AUTHORSHIP: CARMEN TARIPHA'S "TUTUPAKA LLAKTA, O EL MANCEBO QUE VENCIÓ AL DIABLO"

Carmen Taripha is unique in that she is the only monolingual Quechua speaker who is considered an "author" instead of a mere source for the recordings of oral narrative in writing. This acknowledgement is not necessarily widespread throughout literary criticism, yet it is facilitated by José María Arguedas's recognition of Taripha in *Los zorros*. Taripha was born in Maranganí, Sicuani, and Arguedas's first encounter with her was occasioned by his visit to Father Jorge A. Lira in Urubamba (Ayala, np). Taripha worked for the priest, who was recognized for his efforts to better the situation of the indigenous populations of the Andes. It was also Lira who recorded and translated Taripha's tales into the book titled *Canto de amor* (1956), where the majority of Taripha's stories and poetry are found. Her parents owned a *tambo*, or inn, where travelers would come to stay. Before they went to sleep, many would tell of their experiences, sing, play games and recite oral poetry. These oral expressions became the sources for Taripha's narrations (Ayala, np). Arguedas tells of his awe for her narrative abilities in the first pages of the "Primer diario" of *Los zorros*: "Carmen le contaba al cura… cuentos sin fin de zorros, condenados, osos, culebras, lagartos, imitaba a esos animales con la voz y el cuerpo. Los imitaba tanto que el salón del curato se convertía en cuevas, en montes, en punas y quebradas…" (*El zorro* 22)

Carmen Taripha's double marginality is exemplified by the fact that Arguedas's recognition gained her entry into the realm of written literary expression. While Arguedas himself, as a writer enunciating from an Andean world view, constantly traversed the boundaries between oral and written literary expression and between Andean and Westernized ideologies, through his praise of Taripha, he opens up a small gray area in this in-between place through which she is able to take hold of written literary expression. In the prologue to the anthology *El cuento peruano 1968-1974*, Ricardo González Vigil explains the definition of *cuento* that he uses as criteria for the selection of works. He underlines the need to distinguish the subgenre of *cuento* from other narrative subgenres such as myth, legend, parable, short novel, etc. (10). However, he states:

> No nos circunscribiremos al cuento 'moderno' forjado por los románticos y realistas europeos y norteamericanos, transfigurado luego por la Modernidad artística mediante la revolución de las técnicas narrativas en Europa y USA a fines del siglo XIX y comienzos del XX … Extenderemos el vocablo *cuento* a nuestras narraciones orales y escritas de diferentes épocas y tradiciones culturales. (González Vigil "1968-1974" 11-12)

For the editor, not including oral and written narrations from different time periods and cultural traditions falls into an ethnocentrism that signifies the exclusion of large segments of the world's population and long periods of history. For that reason, in each volume of the anthology, González Vigil chooses to include a section on oral narrative.

Carmen Taripha's "Tutupaka llakkta, o el mancebo que venció al diablo" is found in this section. Under the title, the editor clarifies that the story is "Narrado por Carmen Taripha y Benjamín Ríos." [106] Yet, a citation at the end of the story contradicts the talented authorship that Arguedas contributes to Taripha: "De anónimo quechua, *Tutupaka Llakkta* o *El mancebo que venció al diablo*. Recopilación y traducción por

[106] I have been unable to find any information on Benjamín Ríos or his relationship to Lira or Taripha.

Jorge A. Lira." The same authorship is reflected in *Canto de amor*. Lira is noted as the compiler and editor, while Taripha's name only appears on the dedication page. It seems as though Arguedas is one of the few who places Taripha on the same level as other successful narrators such as Alejo Carpintier, Juan Rulfo, and Gabriel García Márquez (*El zorro* 24). This discrepancy in authorship underlines Taripha's continued marginality in the male-dominated and racialized world of canonic literature, where non-Spanish producers of written discursive practices suffer both marginalization and racism. While the story itself may be commonly passed down orally from generation to generation in the region, Taripha, knowing that it is being recorded to be written, utilizes her double marginality as both Andean and female to subvert hegemonic discourses on religion and femininity from within those same discussions.

Because the majority of oral narratives such as this one are not recorded or translated to Spanish, it makes it difficult to know which specific elements of the tale were modified by Taripha and which elements were taken from other storytellers. However, if we recognize Taripha's tale as literature, like González Vigil, the distinction between her authorship and that of others becomes unimportant because her oral literature, or "orature" in Ngugi Wa Thiong'o's conception of the term, is representative of a certain kind of performed ethnic cosmovision (Thiong'o 15-17). However, the language of oral cultures cannot be discussed meaningfully out of the context of coloniality (Thiong'o 16-17), which transformed oral literatures into illiterate cultural expressions, the weak "other" of canonized written literatures. Thus we must analyze the story as an integral piece of literature and its authorship as that of a doubly marginalized Andean and female narrator, refraining from an anthropologically based dissection of authorship that is only regularly applied to oral traditions and not to literature.

Literature, according to Horacio Legrás, is the formalization of the instituting power of language (4). Speaking cannot put forward any meaning without simultaneously building the social frame within which language can make sense (Legrás 4). Therefore, while literature, as opposed to history or ethnography, gives us the "freedom to say everything" (according to Derrida), it rapidly becomes neutralized as fiction. If forms like "folklore," "traditional folk tales," "oral literature," and "urban narratives" were incorporated into the larger and more prestigious framework of literary expression, they entered this arrangement in a subordinated position where their former plasticity is lost, insofar as the cultural apparatuses that brought them recognition favor the perpetuation of certain traits deemed idiosyncratic to the poetic disposition (Legrás 10). Those who appropriate the written word must also appropriate its power, but at the same time they must recognize the power that the written word holds over them. Taripha's works exemplify this negotiation.

"Tutupaka llakkta" tells the story of a young man who likes to test his luck gambling. One day he makes a bet with a mule driver who is passing through his town, and upon losing the bet, he promises to visit the mule driver's house. As the transient visitor walks away, the boy realizes that the man with whom he has made a pact is no ordinary mule driver, but the devil himself.[107] He resolves to keep his word, visit the old man's town, and then return home to his family. In his adventures along the way, he meets the true protagonist of the story, one of the daughters of the devil. In exchange for the boy's promise to marry her, she guides him through the interminable tasks that her

[107] In Andean culture, the trope of a pact with the devil dates back to the Colonial period. According to Colonial priests, the Andean scissor dancers, called "supaypa wawan" in Quechua, or "son of the devil," had made a pact with the devil. The proof was in the daring feats they performed during their dances. They were *mestizo* dancers in that they interpreted Andean rituals through a European perspective, especially in terms of the Catholic concept of the devil. Taripha's story reflects that *mestizo* conception of reality in that it utilizes the trope of a pact with the devil to express Andean sentiments.

father challenges him to complete. The two finally escape, and upon their return to his own town, the boy disobeys his lover and consequently loses all memory of her existence. When the devil's daughter finds that he has married another woman, she is devastated, and she resolves to seek revenge. She finds him, reminds him of her existence, and then carries him off in a burning chariot.[108]

Aside from the overt protagonism of the female character in spite of the title that suggests the protagonism of the boy, the tale contains various instances of subversion of traditional role of females in Andean society.[109] For example, the young girl proposes marriage to the boy in order to take control of the situation. All of the important characters, with the exception of the young boy and the devil, are strong women: the *señora* who represents the Virgin Mary that helps the boy cross the lake, the old woman with the singing hen, the young girl's mother, the Diablesa, and the young girl herself. The men of the tale are all supported by these strong female characters. The boy who defeated the devil could only do so with the help of his lover, yet ironically it is her power that he is unable to overcome.

The only situation that the young female protagonist is not able to control is the last encounter that she has with her mother. The two lovers have successfully tricked the girl's father, killed him, and are close to crossing the lake that separates Tutupaka from the boy's hometown, but the Diablesa arrives. The two strong female characters' meeting

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[108] The story can be read as the opposite of Orpheus's story in ancient Greek mythology, and has ties to the adventures of the twin brothers in Xibalbá as told in the *Popul Vuh*. The subversion of classical mythology of Western culture in indigenous writing is one that warrants further future investigations.

[109] The title in Spanish does not correspond to the Quechua title, which translates to "the town of Tutupaka." Tutupaca is an active volcano located in the southern Peruvian Andes in the department of Tacna. According to Andean beliefs, Tutupaca and his brother volcano Yucamani, located to the nearby southeast of Tutupaca, fought among themselves, disputing their love for a beautiful Andean princess, throwing enormous balls of fire with so much rage that some say the light produced by their battles illuminated the ports of the jungle over 200 kilometers away. Many of the rocks strewn about the high plains and the valley nearby are said to be the remains of the fireballs thrown by the two apus.

reveals that familial ties and respect for one's elders are the true values that one must uphold in the Andean community. Her mother casts her out of her family and thus out of the community:

> A tu propio padre le has dado muerte atroz. Yo no te perdonaré si te empecinas en tu propósito de unirte a este hombre para toda la vida. Por causa de él asesinaste a tu progenitor. Nunca jamás volverás a decir de mí: 'Era mi madre.' Con la leche de mis pechos te derramo – y maldiciéndola exprimió sus pechos hasta derramar leche encima de su hija. Volvió a montar en su caballo y retornó a su mansión (Taripha 79).

The girl mourns the loss of her mother, and as the Diablesa leaves the young lovers, the girl promises her mother that if destiny allows, she will see her again. Here, the young girl is not in control of her own fate due to the fact that it she is dealing with someone whom she considers her equal: another similarly strong feminine character from her own community.

It is only when the values of the Andean cosmovision do not match those of outsiders that we see maneuvering and subversion from within the discourse. It appears in the manner in which the young girl subverts her traditional role as wife and daughter to gain control of different situations, and it is also demonstrated in the composition of the narration itself, in terms of the interconnectedness of Christianity and the Andean cosmovision in the story. One of Mignolo's main arguments in his explanation of the modern/colonial world system is that during the time of the expulsion of the Jews and the Moors from Spain and the "discovery" of America, Christianity became the first global design of the modern/colonial world system, an anchor of Occidentalism and of the coloniality of power.[110] Taripha's story acknowledges the implication of the global design of Christianity in her narration. Western expansion not only meant the

[110] The coloniality of power is a term coined by Aníbal Quijano to explain the conflict of knowledges and structures of power that presuppose the colonial difference, which Mignolo describes as the space where subaltern knowledge is taking place and where border thinking is emerging (Mignolo ix).

justification of conquest in the New World through Christianity, it meant the expansion of hegemonic forms of knowledge that shaped the very conception of economy and religion in the Andes and throughout Latin America (Mignolo 22). Her inclusion of the Devil recognizes the global design of Christianity, yet her subversion of the Devil's tradition role in society destabilizes the dominant forms of knowledge. The Devil in Taripha's story is an Andean devil who assists Taripha in conveying a subaltern Andean knowledge from the borders of the colonial difference.

In effect, the Devil and his family in the tale are merely outsiders, *forasteros*, in the boy's community. Because of this condition of non-belonging (we are reminded of Arguedas's definition of *wakcha*), they are considered different and possibly even dangerous. However, even though they are referred to with names such as "diablo," "diablesa," or "diablitas," they do not possess the qualities that Christianity proffers to diabolical beings. Instead, they maintain the most vital characteristics of a family according to the Andean cosmovision. The mother cares for her children and loyally supports her husband, the father runs his household looking out for the economic and social well-being of his family, and the children honor and respect their parents. Even when the young girl disobeys her father, she does so in a way that makes him believe that she is obeying him, so that she will not show him a lack of respect. We are also reminded that in the Andean cosmovision, as in most indigenous cultures in the Americas, the quality of slyness or trickery is positive, and to be a trickster is to be a virtuous person, while in Christianity it signifies dishonesty.

Taripha filters the age old trope of a deal with the devil through an Andean and feminine world view. She not only subverts the conventional view of women as submissive and weak by choosing a female protagonist whose wit and cunning provide her with power over traditionally male-dominated relationships, she also subverts the

Christian concept of the Devil. He is no longer a diabolical entity, but an outsider who shares the same values and morals as those who are part of the community. In fact, through Taripha's tale, her audience is able to connect and empathize with the Devil's family much more than with the boy's family because we are given insight into the reasoning behind their actions. In effect, Taripha focuses on the marginality of the family in Tutupaka and its pertinence to the Andean society of which it is considered an outsider. Her subversion of Andean and feminine marginality within Andean society echoes her subversion of written language through oral narrative.

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC *PACHAKUTI*: CARMEN ESCALANTE AND RICARDO VALDERRAMA

Anthropologist Carmen Escalante Gutiérrez gives us a distinct perspective on oral narrative in that she is not the creator but the recorder and translator of such accounts. She and her husband, Ricardo Valderrama Fernández, attended the Universidad de Cusco in the early 1970s, and they are most well known for their anthropological work on the recording and translation of Andean oral traditions, especially for the autobiography of the Cusqueñan porter Gregorio Condori Mamani and his wife Asunta Quispe. Escalante has also dabbled in the production of short stories and poetry of her own. However, the majority of her involvement in the literary field has been ethnographic. Escalante's contribution to Andean narrative is undeniable, and in her position as a female anthropologist she undoubtedly offers a feminine perspective through her translations. Nonetheless, because of the dual "authorship" of the ethnologist and her husband, and because of the anonymity of the authors, distinguishing a feminine perspective is quite difficult, if not impossible. We can view Escalante and Valderrama's work as expressions of Andean marginality that have been inserted into the realm of written literary

expression by members of Cusqueñan academia who may not be considered border subjects within the region, but are definitely considered marginal in national and international circles.

"Origen del Apu Ausangate" is published in the 1975-1979 volume of *El cuento peruano*, and unfortunately is not accompanied by any introductory remarks or context. The short tale recounts the origins of the mountain or god Ausangate located in what is now Cusco. [111] Two time periods divide the story, the dark times and when the sun came up, and each time is presided over by a king, the Inkariy and the Españariy, respectively.[112] When it is still dark, the Inkariy creates Ausangate to compete in growth with the other *picachos*, or mountain apus. But Ausangate wants to grow as high as the heavens, so the Inkariy has to detain him in some way. Therefore, he places an enormously heavy silver cross on his head, and as he does so, the day breaks. The history of the conquest of the New World is modified, giving agency and also casting blame on Ausangate for his determination to win the contest. The narrator explains, "Por eso, si el *Apu Ausangate* no hubiera ganado la competencia, hoy estaríamos viviendo de noche; y así el *Españariy* llegando no nos hubiera visto, ni tampoco el *Inkariy* hubiera muerto." (Escalante 48)

The concept of light and dark is reversed from a traditional Western perspective. The narrative voice looks back nostalgically at the dark times and recounts the negative occurrences after the break of day. As the cross is placed on Ausangate's head, the moon becomes ill, and the sun is born. The elders from the dark times retreat eternally into the caves of the mountains because they have burnt their eyes. Today the silver cross still

[111]Andean ideology commonly believes that inanimate objects called *huacas* hold magical powers. Large mountains, especially those peaked in snow, are also considered to hold magical powers as *apus*, or gods.
[112] *Inkariy* is most likely a compound form of "Inca Rey" or Inca king. Likewise, *Españariy* is most probably a compound form of "España Rey" or Spanish king.

stands at the top of Ausangate, and every time the sun comes up, the cross reverberates in its power. However, the Apu Ausangate will not always hold absolute power as it does now; the narrative voice recounts a conversation in the dark times between the Inkariy and Ausangate that his grandfather had narrated to him: When the *runas* no longer worship and adore the Apu Ausangate, that day will be the day of the final judgement. [113] The *apu* will have slowly turned grey and then black, and when he is completely black, the day of the final judgement will arrive. On that day, the narrative voice explains, "… nosotros volveremos a los antiguos tiempos, hasta el corazón negro amargo del *misti wiraqocha* habrá endulzado; entonces, todos seremos con un solo corazón limpio, como en el tiempo de nuestros abuelos *Inkas*." (Escalante 49) [114]

Upon first glance, the short tale seems to merely provide the culturally accepted origin tale of the powerful *apu* that hovers in Cusco's horizon. Yet upon further inspection, we encounter various oddities that do not coincide with common assumptions about the Andean ideology. For example, the time of the Incas is the dark time or the time of the moon, even though it is generally assumed that the Incas worshipped the sun. The time of the sun coincides with the Inkariy's placing a cross, a representation of Christianity and the arrival of the Spaniards, on the peak of Ausangate to slow his growth. In the story the weight of the presence of the Españariy in the Inkariy's decision is ambiguous, but it is clear that the Inkariy's action causes the sun to appear. The sun in the story is not the same life-giving sun worshipped by the Incas: it burns the eyes of the elders, sending them into eternal hiding, and causes planes to crash if they dare to get too close. It is as if the *apu* Ausangate has assumed the negative power of the cross that was placed on his head. It would follow then, that when the *runa*, who are confused and

[113] *Runa*, literally "people," is the name Quechua people use to refer to themselves.
[114] *Wiraqocha* here is a powerful white man.

blinded by the sun, cease to adore Ausangate, he will lose his power and the day of the final judgment will arrive. On this day, the world will cease its prolonged state of *pachakuti*, or world upside-down, and the true times of the Incas will return.

The story itself represents a *pachakuti* of Andean cultural values and literary expression. The sun idolized by our Inca ancestors is detrimental, the *apu* Ausangate's power is equivalent to that of the cross that he bears on his head, and the *runas* of the present day are blind to the reality of their world. While Escalante and Valderrama do not assume the authorship of the story, they are in fact participants in the literary process in their choice to publish this specific story and in the manner in which they translate it. Such choices reflect a perspective on the state of the Quechua-speaking Andean population and a choice to represent it to Spanish speaking national and international readers. González Vigil's election to designate such expressions as literary and include them in his anthology underlines the importance that literature plays in the creation and modifications of ideas of identity and nation. This *pachakuti* story calls for an unavoidable change in the Andean cosmovision. While the past will always be a constituent of the present and the future, we must not let our nostalgia for the past cloud our judgment of those situations that will have positive or negative effects on our future.

The warning is clear, and its timing with regards to socio-political context is impeccable. In 1975, citizens of Peru witnessed the transition from the Velasco regime known for its agrarian reforms to a second phase of military government, led by General Morales Bermúdez (González Vigil 1975-1979, 12). General Velasco and the small group of military officers that accompanied him in overthrowing Belaúnde's government in 1968 had implemented a number of economic and social reforms aimed at maintaining the national economy relatively free from foreign influences and trade (García, José Z.

485). At any rate, internal dissension within the armed forces eventually caused a rift between Velasco's government officials and other more conservative forces in the military. Morales Bermúdez's government struggled with economic problems, corruption scandals, and political opposition from both sides (García, José Z. 486). When the military government accepted its losses and stepped down from power in 1980 to conduct popular elections, they did not realize that the damage they had caused in the country was already irreversible.

Fernando Belaúnde took office for a five year term in 1980, followed by Alan García in 1985, but the economic problems of the previous years caused the early 80s to be witness to a period of severe decline (García, José Z. 486). Alan García implemented unorthodox economic policies such as increased public borrowing and wage and price controls, which led wealthy Peruvians and foreign investors to withdraw their investments. The stark situation was only exacerbated by the fact that the incapability of the government of the 1970s had spurred the creation of the terrorist group Sendero Luminoso in 1980. The economic crisis and severe economic measures only added to the strength of the Sendero Luminoso, whose membership grew from 100 in its early years to 10,000 by 1990. The Senderistas were not the only armed group operating in Peru at the time. A smaller guerilla group, the Movimiento Revolucionario Tupac Amaru (MRTA) also pursued armed struggle prior to being disbanded by counter-insurgency efforts. Both groups spoke not only to the country's need for a reconstitution of governmental policies, but also to the racism toward and exclusion of indigenous populations from national discourses. Their manifestos, based on ideology adopted from José Carlos Mariátegui in the case of the Shining Path (Masterson 275),[115] and from the 18th century rebellions of

[115] Masterson explains that Abimael Guzmán, the leader of the Shining Path, declares his movement as an amalgam of the socialist communal teaching of José Carlos Mariátegui, the basic precepts of Marxism-

the Inca descendant Tupac Amaru in the case of the MRTA (Baer 4),[116] underlined the need to incorporate Andean and indigenous discourses into a national identity, albeit cloaked in brutally violent methodologies.

It is extremely telling, then, that Cusqueñan feminine literary production experiences a dramatic silence, even in oral narratives translated and transferred to text, until the late 90s, when a few publications emerge, and for general purposes until almost ten years after those sparse publications in 2005. While it is essential to distinguish that a contemporary perspective on this silence depends highly on access to such literature and its recognition within and outside of academia, the silence is significant. In other parts of the country there are a few voices in feminine narrative who publish during these years: from the Andes we see Ena Victoria Ayala (Ayacucho 1948), Zelideth Chávez Cuentas (Puno 1937), and Susana Guzmán (Arequipa 1942) and from the coastal region of the country we see Rosa María Bedoya (Lima 1962), Pilar Dughi (Lima 1956-2006), Carmen Luz Gorritti (Lima 1951), Carmen Guizado J. (Lima 1933), and Aída Pachas Leguas (Lima 1933). In Cusco, the male writers of the 80s and 90s struggle with the fragments of an Andean identity.[117] Such fragmentation and disconnection in the dominant group of writers could only be magnified in the double marginalization of women writers. Thus, the silence of the 80s and 90s in feminine narrative does not suggest that women were not participating in literary activities; instead, it reinforces the fragmentation of the Andean identity that male writers were able to express and subsequently publish, as well as the factor that some writers, primarily women who were physically more vulnerable, may

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Leninism, the guiding theoretical and tactical doctrines of Mao Zedong, and his own reinterpretation of these principles as applied to contemporary Peruvian reality (Masterson 275).

[116] Suzie Baer explains that, "The name of the movement came from a famous Incan warrior, who, in the 1570s, fought against the Spaniards who had conquered the Inca Empire. Tupac Amarú was defeated in this war and was executed. His name lived on, however, and in the 1780s, another native Indian group fighting against oppressive leaders named themselves Tupac Amaru II." (Baer 4)

[117] See Chapter 1 for a more in depth analysis of the identitary fragmentation in Andean literature.

have been writing during this time but were not publishing, thus exercising a form of self-censorship in the wake of apocalyptic forms of "revolutionary" terrorism.

In the same light, we must also consider that the violent context of the 80s and 90s was processed differently by women than by their male counterparts. Male Andean writers depict an unofficial perspective on the social and political situation of the country through literature. The violence they experience falls outside of the scope of the official story, yet its public nature facilitates its reflection in literature. On the other hand, women Andean writers experience a different, more intimate violence that is not registered even in the marginal histories of male Andean writers. Traditional literary expression conventionally dominated by a masculine voice does not provide the outlet they seek; instead they turn to oral literature, legends, creation myths and the genre of the *testimonio*. When women writers succeed in breaking into the literary market in the current decade, themes of family, intimacy, and domestic violence continue to permeate their work, along with the incorporation of orality.

Bhabha's concept of unhomeliness links the marginal identity of women with respect to hegemonic and male dominant discourses to the interweaving of the private and public spheres. For Bhabha, unhomeliness is the "estranging sense of the relocation of the home and the world that is the condition of extra-territorial and cross-cultural initiations." (*The Location* 13) The violent crisis of the 80s and early 90s in Peru reinforced migration from the Andes to the coastal areas of the country that had begun during Velasco's agrarian reform. This time, however, immigrants were fleeing the violent conditions brought on by Senderistas, MRTA and counterinsurgency activities. Many others were not willing or able to leave the areas saturated in violence and terror. I consider the extra-territorial and cross-cultural initiations to which Bhabha refers to be geographic, in terms of literal movement, but also conceptual. Even those who remained

in the same place experienced the estranging sense of the relocation of the home and the world around them. Unhomeliness confuses the borders between home and the world, and the private and the public become part of each other, dividing and disorienting the perception of the world (Bhabha *The Location* 13).

Women's literary expression in Cusco, as we have seen previously with Matto de Turner, Elorrieta, and Caller Ibérico, and even in the oral narrative of Carmen Taripha, maintains distinct gendered realms. Women traditionally occupy the private, while men occupy the public. However, the unhomeliness stirred up in the 80s and 90s rewrote the differences between the private and the public, and thus between feminine and masculine discourses, creating a supplementary discourse that disturbed rather than fitting neatly into predetermined categories (Bhabha *The Location* 15). Bhabha relates this unhomeliness to Freud's *unheimlich*, the name for everything that ought to have remained secret and hidden but has come to light (*The Location* 14). In doing so, it not only disturbs predetermined categories of feminine and masculine realms; it also underscores the colonial and post-colonial condition of unhomeliness itself (*The Location* 14). Therefore, when women writers reappear on the scene in the following decade, they rewrite the public and the private in clearly distinct and yet still decidedly feminine ways.

In addition to rewriting femininity, contemporary Cusqueñan narrative written by women also takes on new perspectives in terms of Andean identity, which can be observed in alternative literary discourses such as anthropology. Escalante and Valderrama's work on the testimonial autobiographies of Gregorio Condori Mamani and Asunta Quispe, one of the most widely diffused written texts in the Quechua language, is published in the 1970s during Velasco's attempts at agrarian reform and education for indigenous populations of the country. Anthropology in the 1970s had begun to appreciate the modern Andean tradition as an active and creative rather than merely

resistant presence (Solomon 75). While Velasco's regime was criticized by some for suddenly or superficially valuing the culture of the highlands, others praised the efforts. Either way, Andean cultures began to take a forefront position in Peruvian ethnology. Escalante and Valderrama's works fall in line with these trends. They, along with other anthropologists, sought to demonstrate that the Andean world view consisted "not of a past seen as having caused the present and then being displaced by it, but rather of a past implicit within the present and permanently interacting with it." (Solomon 88) They realize that Andean ideology maintains a sense of the future as transformation rather than continuation (Solomon 88). This perspective is reflected in ethnography of the 70s, and it continues through ethnographic and literary expression to the present day.

As previously indicated, virtually no publications by women in Cusco exist during the 80s, though the same is also true of publications by men. Male writers like Enrique Rosas Paravicino struggled to pick up the pieces of what was once considered an Andean identity of the past without a place in the present, to create a contemporary identity produced through an inherently Andean perspective. The violence of the 80s provoked by the Sendero Luminoso, the MRTA and the counterinsurgency efforts of the Peruvian military frustrated this endeavor. Destruction and loss affected the Andean concept of identity to the point that the *wakcha* or orphan identity prevailed throughout the literature of the time period, when it existed. Oral narratives filled the gaps left by fragmentation in both written literature itself, like in Rosas Paravicino's work and in the field of ethnography. [118]

For women writers in Cusco during the 80s, the situation was magnified. While men, albeit very few, found an outlet through literary expression on the margins of national production, women found themselves in a precarious position, balancing on the

[118] See Chapter 1 for an in depth analysis of Rosas Paravicino's work.

precipices of the marginality of their male counterparts. Violence and chaos obliterated the previously narrow but existent pathways that Andean women writers utilized to try to insert their voices into the hegemonic discourses of Andean identity. Women's voices were not too weak to be heard; rather, fragmentation and a general sense of loss or unhomeliness overpowered the paths through which women could be heard. The result is a profound silence throughout the 80s in feminine Cusqueñan narrative production.

VIOLENCE AND DOMESTICITY IN ETHNOGRAPHY: *SE NECESITA MUCHACHA*, ANA GUTIÉRREZ

Perhaps the only example of female narrative during this time period is Ana Gutiérrez's collection of *testimonios* of Cusqueñan domestic workers titled *Se necesita muchacha* (1983).[119] The collection was published by the Fondo de Cultura Económica in Mexico City, and it is preceded by an extensive 86-page "Presentación al lector mexicano" written in 1981 by well-known activist and journalist Elena Poniatowska. The *testimonios* themselves are divided into two sections: the first tell of female domestic workers' experiences in finding the jobs where they work at the time of the recording, and the second section explains the workers' experiences in learning about and joining the Sindicato de Trabajadoras del Hogar established in Cusco in 1972. The stories, recorded in Spanish and then later transcribed, are a testament to the widespread racism and the dire working and living conditions of both rural and urban environments in the country. Its publication in Mexico, by a Mexican social worker, and her choice to include such a lengthy introduction by Poniatowska, lend themselves easily to consider the racism and abuse these women experienced as a transcontinental phenomenon.

[119] Ana Gutiérrez is a pseudonym of Cristina Goutet, the adviser for the Sindicato de Trabajadoras del Hogar in Cusco.

None of the testimonies, however, mention any non-domestic violence either in the countryside or in the urban environment of Cusco. Gutiérrez explains in her introduction that her investigation spans three years, but she does not mention when she began the recordings. It is most likely, judging by the 1983 date of publication and the 1981 date of the introductory remarks by Poniatowska, that the recordings were collected in the late 70s as opposed to the early 80s. Suppositions aside, it is quite obvious that the women who tell their stories in this collection tell them from a domestic perspective. As we will see in many of the works that follow, filtration of violence through domesticity becomes a technology that many Cusqueñan female writers utilize, playing on gender stereotypes in order to gain a stronger foothold on hegemonic discourses.

Even ethnographic "literature" produced by Cusqueñan women suffers a silence during the 80s and early 90s. From Escalante and Valderrama's autobiography of Gregorio Condori Mamani in 1977 and Rosalind Gow and Bernabé Condori's *Kay pacha*, a collection of stories, descriptions and anecdotes from the community of Pinchimuro in the department of Cusco published in 1976, there is an apparent break in publication until Escalante and Valderrama publish *Nosotros los humanos / Ñuqanchik runakuna*, the story of two men, one "rich" and one "poor," from the province of Cotabambas in Apurímac, in 1992. This collection is followed by the pair's work titled *La doncella sacrificada* (1997), a compilation of oral narratives from the Colca Valley in Arequipa.

If we consider, as I have argued, that those who occupy the margins of mainstream literary production, like Andean writers and women, tend toward the utilization of alternative means of discursive expression, such as the inclusion of oral discourses within their written narrative, like in the case of Rosas Paravicino, or the

election of an altogether alternate literary discourse, such as ethnography that brings oral discourses to the field of written literature, like many Cusqueñan women do after the 1950s, then it follows that in a chaotic and violent time period like the internal war of the 80s and early 90s, Andean women writers lose the means to make their voices heard through the published word.

It is not until 2005 that we see an explosion of narrative produced by Cusqueñan women. Reporter Areli Aráoz's novel *Después del silencio* (2006) proposes to break the silence about the violence in Ayacucho in the late 80s and early 90s and Karina Pacheco's *La voluntad del molle* (2009) tells the story of a woman who leads a double life, leaving her daughters to reconstruct her past cloaked in racism and violence after her death. In the years that follow this resurgence of feminine narrative, Pacheco publishes numerous other novels and collections of short stories, and younger women narrative writers appear on the scene, like Nataly Villena Vega with her novel *Azul* (2005). Oral traditions continue to be an inspiration for short stories, like those written by Linda África Gutiérrez Agramonte and published in the anthology *Cuszco* (2010), but the distinction between individual literary creation and traditions passed down in the community is no longer visible. On the contrary, writers that adapt oral expressions to writing combine the techniques of their predecessors to manage, redefine and dispute their double marginality as Andean women. Just as the private and the public realms are interwoven in the unhomeliness of the (post-) colonial condition, so are the lines between oral and written narrative. The technologies that women writers previously used as a tool of insertion into and subversion of hegemonic discourses develop into literary techniques.

DEFYING THE "OFFICIAL STORY" OF A PATRIARCHAL SOCIETY: *DESPUÉS DEL SILENCIO*, ARELI ARÁOZ

Areli Aráoz Villasante, born in Limatambo, Cusco, is the author of one of the first novels to break the silence of Cusqueñan feminine narrative after the 80s and 90s. Her novel, fittingly named *Después del silencio*, was published in 2006. Ironically, Aráoz is not known for her literary production; instead, she is considered one of Cusco's most reputable women journalists of the last decades. Aráoz grew up around *campesino* children in Limatambo from whom she learned to speak Quechua. She studied at the Instituto Superior Pedagógico Santa Rosa de Cusco and then at the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú in Lima. She later became a professor in Languages and Literatures and then in Communication Sciences in the Universidad Nacional San Antonio Abad in Cusco. At the same time she practiced various forms of journalism including written but especially focusing on oral journalism, in the form of radio broadcasting. She also directed "El Diario de la Mañana" from the radio program Radio Sur for many years. Aráoz has served two terms as councilwoman for the Municipality of Cusco, and now she works as the Executive Director of the Coordination of Children's Rights in the regions of Cusco, Apurímac and Madre de Dios. *Después del silencio*, her only novel among numerous reports, articles and books, won the Premio Nacional de Novela in 2006, a prize awarded by the Instituto Nacional de Cultura in Cusco, whose concessions included their publication of the novel.

Después del silencio combines Aráoz's previous experiences in radio and newspaper journalism with the history of the Sendero Luminoso's rise to and fall from power in their central organizing point of Ayacucho to produce a novel that serves as, "el marco que permite narrar hechos occuridos en Ayacucho durante la subversion." (back cover) Here, journalism replaces the ethnological focus of previous Cusqueñan works by

women as a means of insertion into conventional literary discourses. Aráoz leans heavily on her journalism background in the production of the novel in its characters, plot, and narrative style. In fact, the plot centers on a female reporter protagonist who, after a series of spiritual encounters, accepts a job in Ayacucho during the terrorism of the Shining Path and the counter-violence of the military. Her partner during the investigation is a Swiss man named Essden. The reporter protagonist leads Essden to the leader of the Senderistas for what she believes is an exclusive interview, but instead, Essden kills him and receives the reward money for his death. The reporter realizes after the death of the Senderista leader that he was her lover who had left her years before for an ambiguous yet worthy cause.

The capture and death of Marco, the Senderista leader, is facilitated, possibly unintentionally once again, by the actions of a prostitute named Mar.[120] Mar is the daughter of Marco's childhood nanny Rosario, for whom Marco cared very much. Marco falls in love with Mar, but she is only concerned with avenging the death of a man that she loved. The story ends in the aftermath of Marco's death as the reporter travels to Europe to meet with Essden for the first time since the unfolding of the events in Ayacucho and to turn in her report. She doubts that by handing in the report she has completed her mission, and instead wonders, "¿Qué hay después del silencio?" (Aráoz 187) In the closing lines of the novel, she responds on her own to the inquiry that she intended to direct to Essden. "La respuesta, estoy segura, no estará en la historia oficial." (182)

[120] It is difficult to overlook the linguistic link that Aráoz makes between the historic figures of Karl Marx, Subcomandante Marcos, the spokesman for the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) in Mexico, and Abimael Guzmán of the Shining Path in Peru. The Marco-Marcos-Marx association connect Germany, Mexico and Peru (no doubt a connection that these leaders of these and other groups based on Marxist ideologies had made previously), a connection that Aráoz utilizes in order to contextualize her local history on an international level. As we will see later, many female narrators in Cusco utilize variations of the same technique, drawing attention to the local and the global at once.

Aráoz concludes her fragmented and somewhat stale storyline with a conclusion that urges her readers to wonder about the space from which she enunciates and the "truth" of the story they have just read. One may argue that while Aráoz's novel may be based on the historical events that occurred in Ayacucho leading up to the Presidente Gonzalo, or Abimael Guzmán's arrest, it is purely fiction because Guzmán was not involved in an affair with a reporter preceding his involvement with the Shining Path, nor was he killed when he was captured. In fact, Guzmán was captured with his female companion and second in command, Elena Iparraguire. Both were incarcerated, and in a re-trial held in 2004, from which the media were banned, both were sentenced to life in prison for terrorism and murder ("Peru's Shining Path" np).

Aráoz offers the possibility of another perspective with the concluding lines of her novel. Is her novel a representation of the official story that casts shadows on marginal voices, like those of women or the indigenous populations of Ayacucho, only allowing a sliver of light to appear in the form of her concluding remarks? Or is *Después del silencio* meant to represent a discourse from that marginality that seeks to defy the "official story?" I argue that the novel is a representation of the latter: Aráoz presents her readers with a protagonist who must develop her understanding of the nature of Peruvian society and her role within it. It is for this reason that the protagonist spends the first six chapters lost in the depths of seemingly irrelevant spiritual conversations and experiences that link Andean philosophy to Norwegian spiritual rituals foretelling the future. We are once again reminded of Bhabha's unhomeliness, which produces a differential space in which the "traumatic ambivalences of a personal and psychic history" are related to the "wider disjunctions of political existence." (*The Location* 15) In other words, the protagonist of Aráoz's novels spends the first six chapters "lost" in spiritual conversations reflecting on the possibilities for her future because these conversations are

linked to the political discourses that will occur in the second part of the novel in Ayacucho. Bhabha argues that such forms of social and psychic existence can best be represented in the tenuous survival of literary language itself, which allows memory to speak (*The Location* 16). However, in the case of *Después del silencio*, literature and journalism, as an alternative to canonical literary expression, intersect, and in this intersection the marginal feminine voice is able to undermine the "official story" through memory. Aráoz's memory is able to speak, as Bhabha puts it, because the protagonist's social and psychic existence, her unhomeliness in a world that has changed around her, leads to the theme of the unspoken memories of the marginal (Bhabha *The Location* 17).

The protagonist's spiritual journey is the necessary precursor to the personal and political trip that follows. Even on the very first page of the novel, we can see the beginnings of a transformation as the protagonist muses to herself,

> No puedo seguir con mis viejos prejuicios, ideas, creencias, lugares… Mi alma confundida ha cerrado una puerta y abierto otra diferente… Hay necesidad de encontrarme a mi misma y reecontrarme con mi pasado e historia personal. La aventura empieza (Aráoz 9).

She links her personal history and her past to old prejudices, ideas, beliefs and places, and realizes that by changing herself, she will also change her history, her memories, and therefore her future. Yet as Arendt notes, the author of social action may be the initiator of its original meaning, but as agent he or she cannot control its outcome (Bhabha *The Location* 18). The protagonist of Aráoz's novel begins her personal adventure through the spiritual conversations in the first chapters, but she does not realize the impact her agency and will to bring up the past memories in order to transform the future will have on more expanded and political terms. Once she arrives to Ayacucho, the outcome is out of her control, and while pain is inevitable, even for the protagonist, who begins the chain

of events, she is still able to claim some semblance of the personal actions at the end of the novel as a social action when she questions the official story.

Aráoz's novel toys with the border between fiction and history to produce an Andean identity based on strong female characters such as the reporter protagonist, the prostitute Mar, and her mother Rosario. However, each female character's identitary development is based on the gender roles that society has put in place. In the case of Rosario, Marco's caretaker when he was a child, her identity manifests in the maternal role that she takes on. She, much more than Marco's biological mother, serves as his caretaker and his emotional support. Her motherly instincts tie her to the boy and allow her to care for him as if he were her own, even though her employers treat her mercilessly. When Rosario is thrown out of the house, accused by Marco's mother of stealing, Marco experiences an awakening to the cruel nature of the society in which he lives:

> Cuando Rosario dejó la casa, en *silencio*, luego de abrazarlo con fuerza, Marco experimentó la primera y gran pérdida de su vida. Luego de llorar la ausencia de la única persona que realmente se preocupaba por él, comprendió qué duros pueden ser los seres humanos, especialmente con los más débiles (Aráoz 78, my emphasis).

Rosario's position as a mother figure to Marco is dissolved into silence as she leaves the house, and her exodus becomes the opportunity for the narrator to explain the situation of urban immigrants like Rosario. But Rosario herself is unable to escape the gender roles that a patriarchal society has put in place, even after she leaves her position as caretaker for Marco. The silence that is produced when she leaves is demonstrative of her victimization from heteronormative social codes deriving from patriarchy. After the pain of losing her "child" Marco, she meets a man with whom she falls in love, and she leaves her work to return to his home town with him, only to find out that he already has another

wife and children. She never marries, but has numerous purely physical relationships. When she finds out she is pregnant, she decides to settle down with Mariano, "viejo borracho que lo único que le hizo fue tres hijos más." (Aráoz 81) In the end, she contracts a vaginal infection after the birth of her last child which converts into cancer. Rosario does not ever have the chance to make a decision for herself because gender-specific roles control her both as a mother figure determined to take care of her children and as a sexual being controlled by a patriarchal and racist society.

Rosario's first daughter, the result of her relationship with the "viejo borracho" Mariano is Mar. Mar too becomes entrapped by society's perspectives on traditional gender roles when her mother dies. She is left to live with her stepfather who negates her role as his daughter as prefers to treat her as an opportunity to take out his sexual aggressions. He repeatedly rapes her, which leads Mar to understand that the only value to society she can offer is that of her sexuality. She becomes a prostitute, determined to turn her societal value into economic profit. However, through her work she meets an engineer named Neto with whom she falls in love. He transforms her gender-based value from that of a purely sexual being to that of a wife or emotional support. Nevertheless, her identity remains dependent on that of men through their conception of her gender. Neto neglects to inform Mar that he is part of the Senderistas, but he convinces her to move to Ayacucho with him. She obliges, yet it is there where Neto is murdered.

Even after Neto's death, Mar continues to construct her identity as dependent on his. She promises to avenge his death. She does so, however, through the means that society has given her: through her sexuality. After Neto's death her identity is doubly linked to the perspective of patriarchal society. She is at once Neto's mourning lover, whose death she must avenge, and at the same time she returns to see her value in society through her sexuality, as a prostitute. In Ayacucho, she takes advantage of the access to

men's spaces that her job allows her in order to gain the confidences of Marco, Ratán and Iván (Essden's name during the investigation). Through her relationships with these men, she is able to gain information about the death of Neto. The last we know of Mar is a vague piece of news that alludes to her killing Ratán and her subsequent disappearance:

> Perú se desangra en brazos de Sendero Luminoso y extrañamente envenenado, encuentran en su lecho, el cuerpo del Coronel Ratán, jefe máximo de la lucha contra la subversión. Se investigan los hechos, al parecer, se trata de un asesinato, protagonizado por una mujer, que misteriosamente ha desaparecido (Aráoz 181).

Upon reading the news, the reporter protagonist proclaims that she is beginning to understand a lot of things. Even though Mar gets her revenge, she must disappear because of it. She successfully utilizes her femininity to get what she wants, but she is unable to be recognized or have a voice in the end. Once again, just like in Rosario's case, the female character's efforts at a recuperation of identity through inherently and exclusively female means are thwarted. The outcomes are twisted into unsatisfactory versions of themselves filtered through its media. The conclusion of the novel alludes to the possibility of a feminine voice *after* the silence, where women like Mar and Rosario are able to express their femininity outside of oppressive patriarchal and heteronormative systems, but Aráoz merely touches those alternative discourses in her conclusion, leaving her readers to wonder what really happens after the silence.

The fragmented and twisted outcomes of feminine struggles in a traditional patriarchal society offer little hope in terms of recognition of marginal voices. If we consider that the frustrated attempts reflect those that occurred *during* the "silence," then we must ask ourselves why the novel is titled *Después del silencio.* Perhaps the protagonist herself, the female reporter, represents its referent. However, a preliminary observation of her character reveals the opposite. She too seems to fall into a stereotype of women created by a patriarchal society. In the first pages of the novel we see a woman

who seems unsure of herself and easily swayed emotionally. When the Norwegian scientist asks her to record a commercial for him, her first instinct is to say no, she does not do that kind of "journalism," meaning advertisements with lucrative ambitions rather than journalism with the aim of reporting the truth. Nevertheless, when she speaks to the scientist face to face she is hypnotized. His penetrating gaze undresses her down to her soul and she agrees to do the commercial for him. It is, after all, *her* specific voice that he seeks for the advertisement. The sexual undertones of the conversation reflect the heterosexist victimization of women like Rosario, Mar, and even the protagonist, as a result of their gender. Later, it is the same scientist who urges the reporter to meet with the Norwegian shaman, the experience that initiates the protagonist's realization of the need to break the silence in her society.

Be that as it may, the reporter's character changes little throughout the narration even after the encounter with the shaman. She may conceive of herself as a strong character, but her femininity causes others to consider her weak, highlighting the underlying structure of the patriarchal and heteronormative society of which she forms part. She too determines her identity, she realizes, on her relationship with a lover from her past. She remembers how her lover breaks off their relationship, leaving the protagonist standing in the door of her home, telling her that he needs to be alone. She begs him to stay. "Por favor, no te vayas… Yo te amo más que a nada en el mundo, hablemos, voy a intentar comprenderte." (Aráoz 33) Months later she is still unable to accept his abrupt departure. "Quiero aceptar su decisión, pero algo interno me paraliza haciéndome sufrir lo indecible. Cargo mis cicatrices como surcos en el alma, la huella que deja un mal amor difícilmente puede desaparecer." (Aráoz 33) Her soul is left with the scars of his memory that refuses to disappear, and she is left in the space that society has determined is hers: her home. Her domesticity is like a brand with which society has

marked her that she is unable (or unwilling) to erase. She is a respected journalist but struggles to prove herself in the eyes of her male counterparts. Yet when Essden/Iván explains to her that because she is a woman she is better suited for certain parts of the investigation than for others, she accepts without questioning. At the climax of the action when the reporter unintentionally gets her lover killed because she trusted her research partner's intentions, her sentiments seem to be guided by the stereotypical conceptions of a woman's character: loving, emotional more than intellectual, submissive.

Only in the last words of the novel do we question the reporter's adhesion to these stereotypes. "¿Qué hay después del silencio? La respuesta, estoy segura, no estará en la historia oficial." (Aráoz 182) Aráoz may be urging her readers to seek the unofficial story. We, like the reporter herself, are reminded of the advice of Nekim, the Norwegian shaman from the first section of the novel. "Sumérgete en tu raza y tu cultura, y sentirás que allí está tu misión." (21) The reporter does not understand Nekim's suggestions at the time, and for quite some time she wanders aimlessly. As Nekim tells her, "Tu destino es dar testimonio de un tiempo y una situación que conmoverá las raíces más profundas de un pueblo…" (22) we as readers understand the meta-literary meaning of the prognosis way before the protagonist does. She looks to the past to figure out her present, without realizing that such a perspective will not allow her to move toward her future because the past is still controlled by patriarchal and heteronormative systems of domination. "Como en una película de hondo realismo, por mi mente desfilan todos los hechos de mi pasado. *Me siento sin rumbo*." (Aráoz 44, my emphasis) She is held captive by her own femininity and the violence that women like Rosario and Mar have experienced because she too is unable to create a discourse outside of such a system. A sculpture that she finds in Quinuapata calls her attention: it is a representation of women's marginalization caused by their gender:

> Me sobra tiempo y decido caminar, *sin rumbo* por la ciudad, acompañada de un artesano que me vende una escultura de barro, con la figura de una mujer embarazada de cuyo vientre salen fusiles, al preguntarle ¿Por qué? siento el peso de la impertinencia. –Me recuerda a mi hermana, que fue violada, y no sabe de quién son sus dos hijitos gemelos.- *Silencio*, qué puedo decir (Aráoz 103, my emphasis).

Aimlessness, femininity, motherhood, violence and silence are linked together in the sculpture.

Aráoz attempts to break the silence at the end of the novel when the reporter challenges the official story. However, the protagonist does not sacrifice her femininity in order to do so, nor does she apologize for those who attempted do so before her, like Mar. Instead, she embraces what could be considered a disadvantage in a patriarchal society – stereotypical feminine characteristics – in order to inquire between the lines of the unofficial story. The reader is left to construct a version of this discourse on the barely stable structure that Aráoz provides still on the foundations of a traditional patriarchal society. Women writers who follow Aráoz will deconstruct pieces of this structure and replace them with stronger alternatives; breaking the silence through a perspective built on feminine stereotypes will not prove satisfactory for writers such as Karina Pacheco and Nataly Villena, but the groundbreaking discourse, the call to arms to break the silence outside of an official discourse, is undeniably a step in the right direction.

UNHOMELINESS, COLONIALITY AND DOMESTICITY: KARINA PACHECO MEDRANO

Karina Pacheco Medrano's extensive list of narrative publications also begins in 2006 with *La voluntad del molle*. The temporal coincidence of two important novels in feminine Cusqueñan literary production is not by chance. The proof resides in the themes that enter both works: Aráoz and Pacheco both deal with the subject of a feminine, domestic identity located in a traditional patriarchal society that, while sometimes

displaced geographically from Cusco or even Peru, is concerned with the state of politics and society in the country. Both writers also use personal, usually romantic relationships, as the metaphor for larger scale identitary issues. Because Pacheco's work is more extensive, we are able to view various sides of this discourse, as opposed to Aráoz's abrupt and somewhat diffuse insertion of her voice into the "silence" of hegemony and violence.

Similar to Aráoz's double profession as both a journalist and narrative writer, Pacheco is not only a fiction writer but also an anthropologist. Her work in both fields informs that of the other; thus in both areas, her publications reflect a strong social concern. Pacheco was born in Cusco in 1969 and received her degree in American Anthropology with a focus on Inequality, Cooperation and Development at the Universidad Complutense in Madrid. She is now a professor of anthropology at the Universidad Nacional de San Antonio Abad in Cusco. She also works as researcher for the Asociación de Investigación y Especialización Sobre Temas Iberoamericanos in Spain.[121]

Not only does Pacheco's interest in social matters enter into play in her literary works, we can also observe a more ample and international conception of the world. Her experiences living in Spain and working in cross-cultural communication no doubt play a part in this perspective. Another aspect of Pacheco's life that informs her work is the fact that she grew up during the years of terrorism in the 80s and 90s. Unlike the writers who follow Pacheco, like Villena and Gutiérrez who were too young to understand the weight of the situation, Pacheco passed her high school and university years in the height of the violence. In an interview she elaborates:

[121] Previous to the publication of *La voluntad del molle* in 2006, Pacheco's first literary work, she published various articles about the relationship between Europe and Latin America in regards to civil rights, development and cooperation.

> La violencia política marcó profundamente la adolescencia y la entrada a la juventud de la gente de mi generación… Aunque no viviera en el corazón de la violencia ni en las esferas de mayor peligro, esos años nos obligaron a desprendernos de toda visión ingenua de los ideales y observar cómo mucha gente que apreciabas tomaba partido de manera radical; sea para apoyar la violencia terrorista, o, en el otro extremo, para justificar las barbaridades que el Estado cometió en medio de la lucha subversiva. ("Entrevista", np)

This involvement touches her work in various direct and indirect ways, as we will see shortly.

La voluntad del molle (2006) tells the story of two sisters, Elena and Elisa, whose mother, also Elena, has just died, and whose father died three years prior. They find a trunk in their mother's closet containing letters and photographs that lead them to discover a completely new side of their mother's life. The girls expose the identity that their mother kept secret piece by piece: a history teacher unfit for marriage according to Elena's parents because of his indigenous last name, a baby boy sold to the housekeeper's family, false charges of rape, involvement in the Shining Path, and prison. Their mother's divided love for two separate families forces them to question their own familial ties. Elena, the narrator, even wonders if she too could be the daughter of her mother's first love, Alejandro. The family that their mother left behind is destabilized more and more as they discover that their past is not what they considered it to be.

The entirety of the novel is driven by the characters' belief in writing as reality. The girls realize the power of the writing in their mother's letters, and they struggle with an urge to cast the letters aside, allowing their past to continue on as they always believed it to be. They know, on the other hand, that the content of the letters is not something to be ignored: they must uncover and understand this new facet of their history, because it affects who they are today. The power of their mother's letters is an overarching theme throughout the novel. Even their Aunt Julia is only convinced to talk about the past when she is presented with the letters, as if they represent an irrefutable voice. Interestingly, the

letters that destabilize the girls' conception of their family and their present are written by a male character, Elena's first love Alejandro. It is his voice that reveals to the girls their mother's secrets. Not once do we as readers "hear" Elena's voice through writing. Even, near the end of the novel, when the sisters visit Alejandro in prison, and he gives them Elena's responses to his correspondence over the years, we are unable to read or hear them. The girls take the letters home with them, but the narrator never shares them with the reader. It is as if Alejandro's voice is a sufficient representative of their mother's secrets. Elena's voice remains hidden, filtered through the masculine perspective of the situation, or through the oral accounts that the girls hear from their relatives. Alejandro does attest to their mother's belief in the written word, a point that makes the suppression of her voice represented by her unread letters all the more significant. Alejandro tells the girls as he hands them the letters Elena wrote to him over the years,

> No puedo darles más detalles de los que aparecen en estas cartas. Ella era la persona más libre y más preciosa frente al papel blanco. *Creo que confiaba en las cosas que escribía aún más que en mi buena disposición para escucharla*. Por eso nos seguimos carteando tan a menudo aun cuando ella ya me podía visitar (*La voluntad* 261, my emphasis).

Elena's letters written to Alejandro represent the marginal state of feminine literature and the filters through which such discourses must pass to arrive at their intended audience. Additionally, Pacheco's anthropological background provides us with another insight: Anthropologists build their truths from recording different voices, each articulating a particular angle, small pieces of what the big picture may be. Pacheco draws attention to the idea that history is like a quilt sewn from many voices, all of them symbolic objects and each of them subjective, by including such a variety of voices in *La voluntad del molle*. It is the girls' decision to accept and reject the versions with which they are presented. Each character's history varies to different degrees: Elena (the daughter)

chooses to believe that Alejandro could be her father, their brother Javier believes that Elena gave him up to abusive alcoholic parents because she did not want him, not because she was tricked and forced to give him up. We too, as readers presented with a multiplicity of voices, are able to construct our own history from that facts with which we are provided. The only catch is that Elena's voice is never truly heard, so all of the discourses, each character's version of history, must reproduce it in their own way.

The plot lacks a resolution: The girls figure out the secrets of their family, but we never find out what they do with such knowledge, aside from the reconstruction of their relationship with Alejandro's mother and their recognition of Alejandro and Elena's son as part of their family. Neither girl's personal romantic relationship is resolved, nor is their relationship with their meddling grandmother, and the sisters themselves seem reluctant to actually make any decision whatsoever about their lives, even just about spending time opening up the letters. The novel also acknowledges the racism inherent in Peruvian society in Elena's family's treatment of Alejandro, Javier, and even of their Aunt Julia, but Pacheco does not seem to know what to do with it. Even the space of the house is never resolved – the girls consider getting a housekeeper and reorganizing the house after their mother's death, but they never get around to it. Effectively, the entire novel is a large chest of uncomfortable memories that destabilize the present and must be "resolved" in some way. Yet Pacheco leaves her readers in the same position as Elena and Elisa. By merely opening up the chest and understanding its contents, we are not prepared to deal with the repercussions of the knowledge of its existence. We can read the novel then, as an extension of the trajectory that Aráoz proposes in *Después del silencio*. Aráoz's novel concludes urging her readers to seek alternative histories outside of the official discourse. Pacheco's novel begins where Aráoz's ends: *La voluntad del molle* is the representation of that search.

The search is endless and constantly frustrates all aspects of society. Perhaps Andean society is not as prepared to face the truth of the past as much as it had hoped because the violence from the internal war is still too fresh, or perhaps because of the way in which so many apparently peaceful peasants participated in gruesome violence remains, at the end of the novel, too much of a trauma to be able to evoke comprehensible explanations. The past seems to only destroy relationships in the present, tearing down once believed truths and leaving loss, sadness and deception. However, loss creates a void that can only be filled through growth. Pacheco's conclusion, in which she describes the logic behind the title of the novel, leaves room for the hope to grow. In the last scene of the novel, Elisa and Elena sit with Alejandro's mother in her garden contemplating the *molle* tree (Peruvian evergreen peppercorn tree) that serves as the guardian for Javier's remains:

> Un molle no produce frutos jugosos que sirvan para calmar la sed ni para preparar mermeladas ni licores. Es su color, es su aroma, es su voluntad. A veces brota en los recodos de los caminos, sin que nadie haya derramado semillas ni le suministre riego en tiempo de sequía; otras veces no germina ni aunque se le plante en la tierra más fecunda y se le abone con guano de islas, agua dulce y fertilizantes químicos. Pero ese molle había brotado bien y había vuelto a retoñar cuando parecía que su extinción era inevitable. Ese árbol fue la fuente de juegos de mi hermano, fue también su último refugio (*La voluntad* 265).

The will of the *molle* tree is the strength of the memories of the past that continue into the present. Instead of the destructive force of the past that the two sisters felt as they opened the letters, once they are near the *molle* tree they realize that the past can be a constructive part of the present. The sisters accept their brother and their new family happily, without forgetting the wounds of the past but also ready and willing to move on, taking parts of the past with them.

The sisters sort through a past that affects them indirectly yet causes strong emotional reactions. Like Pacheco's generation in Cusco, the girls do not experience the violence firsthand. Nonetheless, they struggle through their creation of an understanding of the past and incorporate it into their present without shame. *La voluntad del molle* indirectly asks its reader to do the same, and in turn, proposes an Andean community that recognizes the effects of racism and violence in society on their present and future.

A short story by Pacheco titled "El aliento" appears in the anthology, *Matadoras: nuevas narradoras peruanas* (2008). The collection is edited by José Miguel Herbozo, who also provides a short introduction to the works titled "Fronteras espontáneas, fronteras inventadas." In this introduction, Herbozo recognizes the lack of women narrative writers in Peru. He casts aside previous studies of women writers because of their tendency to place women in invented groups or generations that do not necessarily exist, due to the heterogeneity of women's narrative in the country. In this light, for Herbozo, heterogeneity is a negative converse to a unified homogenous feminine narrative that could represent the country. Previous studies tended to create artificial groups of generations to create a semblance of this unity, but their artificiality was always evident. Although Herbozo's tendency toward unity exemplifies that which Cornejo Polar warns is exclusionary, a contradiction of Cornejo Polar's "contradictory totality" as the makeup of Peruvian society, Herbozo does recognize the location of contemporary Cusqueñan narrative as a border discourse. This anthology, he explains, "Fuera de anotar títulos y fechas… *es un cambio radical en la naturaleza de las fronteras* que delimitan la narrativa escrita por mujeres." ("El aliento" 8, my emphasis) He adds, "Estamos ante la generación espontánea de una frontera, y no ante su invento, entre comillas." ("El aliento" 8)

As we will see in the works of the two Cusqueñan authors that he includes here, and in Linda África Gutiérrez's work included in the *Cuszco* anthology, contemporary Cusqueñan literature is also quite dispersed. Nevertheless, the contradictions within feminine Cusqueñan narrative should not lead us to conclude that there is a lack of women writers in the region, as Herbozo does, or to assume that because they do not fit previously established categorizations they are invaluable to criticism of literary trends. There is a definite connection among contemporary Cusqueñan female authors, as I have argued throughout this chapter, in their interest in the expression of an identity voiced from a feminine point of view that challenges hegemonic discourses on race, gender and marginality that brings the violence of the 80s and 90s to light in order to break silences many times not even recognized as fissures in the dominant discourse.

Pacheco's "El aliento" expands the author's concerns about the effects of violence to a global level while also reminding her readers of the imminence of the need to constantly renew our definitions of happiness and identity. The setting of the story is ambiguous: Two women are juxtaposed in a tale of coincidence and fate that unites them and their experiences on a global plane. The first woman leaves a bar on New Year's Eve, drunk, yet conscious that everyone she sees around her seems to be a ghost. The female narrator too is a ghost, representative of a void or silence in the hegemonic discourse. She is frustrated with the events of the night that did not live up to her expectations and desperately searching for someone who is not empty and transparent. Yet her search for her own identity by looking to the Other only produces silence. She collides with a woman who is running out of a hotel entrance, and the solidity of the woman in contrast with the spectral figures of the city shakes her from a pensive and blurred state. She connects with the woman because this Other is representative of a strange, empowering force that she also recognizes within herself, or at least yearns to

feel within herself. Just as quickly as the recognition comes, it escapes: the protagonist realizes that the woman has been shot and is dead in her arms. The recognition that the narrator felt for the woman disappears back into its ghostly silence, leaving only a memory of its possibility.

The news reports describe the tragedy in its aftermath, claiming that it was a suicide. The woman, a twenty-two year old architecture student, had shot herself in the chest after celebrating her graduation that night. "Parecía feliz," the protagonist muses, and she compares herself to the woman:

> Pero yo estaba viva, con todas mis decepciones y dilemas, y aquella chica se había matado. Y no se había liquidado tomando unas pastillas, ni disparándose en la sien desde ese ángulo que hace imposible ver la inminencia de la propia muerte. Optó por hacer pedazos su corazón ("El aliento" 76).

Her death-in-life contrasts with the life-in-death of the woman that she held in her arms that night. For Bhabha, wandering people who are not contained in a national culture represent the death-in-life of the idea of the imagined community of the nation (*The Location* 236). They are the forces behind the shifting boundaries of the frontiers of the modern nation (Bhabha *The Location* 236). If the protagonist of Pacheco's story is also representative of a death-in-life, the connection that she feels with the woman who dies, the life-in-death, could embody the possibility, although fleeting, of the alternative systems that Mignolo alludes to with border thinking, which is able to critique the epistemic coloniality of power from both within and outside of the perspective of modernity itself (87). The fleeting flash of hope is a figurative light at the end of the tunnel for Pacheco.

The protagonist remembers the presence of another girl at the scene who had rushed to their aid. "La camisa celeste de esa chiquilla se tiñó igualmente de rojo y sus ojos se cargaron de lágrimas. Abrazaba al cadáver, como queriendo reponerle el aliento

que presentíamos había echado de menos en la vida." ("El aliento" 77) *Aliento*, breath or inspiration, becomes the central element that distinguishes the ghosts from solid, real humanity. The girl rushing out of the hotel was spurred forward, even after her physical death on the third floor on the building, by her need to experience humanity for the last time, and the protagonist notices that necessity and her own personal lack of *aliento*, even through she continues to live.

Twenty years later, and still without any satisfactory answers as to how or why the woman from the hotel really died, the protagonist sees the other woman from that night on the news. She is in Uganda, a country, like Peru, that suffers the imprint of coloniality. Both are spectral spaces where the *aliento* of their ancestors, indigenous in the case of Peru, African in the case of Uganda, still mark the contemporary space. Subaltern pasts and conflictive historicism merge, and in the presentness of both spaces, the phantasms of non-subalternized indigenous and African rulers of the land still linger. It is the simultaneous coexistence of modern (Nation-State) and non-modern (the phantasm of ancestral communities) conceptions of the world that connect the African experience with the Latin American one and juxtapose secular (again, the Nation-State) and supernatural (the mytho-poetic elements of ancestral cultures lost) traits. The reporter on the news asks the woman why she has decided to stay in Uganda instead of returning home, and the woman responds that her *aliento* is there in Uganda. These three women are linked by the need for something to fulfill their lives in such a way that traverses the years and the borders that separate them. They constantly negotiate the boundaries between life and death in a spectral state because they are not only the embodiment of the life and death of conquest and colonialization, their connection represents the weight of border gnoseology on the modern/colonial world system. The exploration for an ambiguous *aliento* in which her characters slip back and forth between

the darker and lighter sides of this discussion is the colonial semiosis, to use Mignolo's term, that marks the invisible border between a Eurocentric Lima-centered "Nation-State" and the lingering subalternized populations for whom this in an unhomely, exilic experience, like for the Andean characters in the Chimbote of *Los zorros*.

Pacheco publishes her second novel *No olvides nuestros nombres* in 2009. The protagonist, a Cusqueñan biologist named Clara, marries a biology professor named Orlando after the untimely and violent death of a friend involved in the political struggles of the 80s. She takes refuge in her marriage to Orlando after she is profoundly shaken by Iván's death, but Orlando can only offer her distance and criticism. It is not until they begin to have children, the second one specifically to save their marriage, that Orlando becomes more concerned with the relationship and his control over it. He controls Clara and their two boys though threats and harsh authoritarian behavior. The protagonist searches for ways to escape the oppression, asking him to leave or sleep in the guest bedroom on various occasions. She takes long work-related trips to evade the harsh treatment, sometimes taking her children with her and other times leaving them under Orlando's care only to find that he has convinced them that she does not prioritize them upon her return.

During her travels, Clara meets a historian from Belgium named Oskar with whom she connects, not only on the physical and emotional level, but also academically. Oskar's work addresses the lives of Peruvian immigrants to Europe in the 60s, a diasporic space that marks subalternity, forming a connection that Clara finds all too pertinent to her own life. Her father, whom she never met, left her mother when she was pregnant with Clara, joining forces against the political repression of the time never to return home. Some say that he was captured and killed, and others say he succeeded in escaping and moved to Europe, gaining political asylum there.

Clara struggles with the role of her absent father throughout the novel, and when she meets Oskar, not only is he able to provide a stable, loving, romantic relationship, he also clarifies her doubts about her father's death. His family was also affected by war to the point that Oskar named his son after his grandfather, who fought in the Spanish Civil War, in order to make sure his name was never forgotten. The diasporic, migratory nature of both sides of Oskar's family resonates with the unhomeliness that Clara feels with the loss of her father.[122] Oskar's family's identity is created by their pride in their family's past and their ability to survive difficult times. Perhaps it is for this reason that Clara feels such a connection to both Oskar and Iván, her acquaintance who is killed at the beginning of the novel. She connects Iván to her father, and then to Oskar's grandfather. Clara, too, feels the necessity to create a space in the present for those from the past who may be forgotten. Just like Oskar, Clara names her second child after her father. The presence of what could have been forgotten is comforting for her in the midst of the chaos in which she finds herself. When Clara decides upon her boy's name she feels lighter and more complete: "…en su pecho la ausencia de alguien a quien jamás pudo tocar emergía, como si se hubiera desatado de todo el peso de la arena y el agua, del paso del tiempo y del olvido, emergía con la fuerza de un río caudaloso que buscara reparar un corazón de una niña. *Para que tú me oigas*." (*No olvides* 160) The past is inevitable part of the present and the future. Repressing it will only force it to reemerge in different ways.

This rings true not only for Clara's personal life, but also in the contemporary Andean society in which she lives. The lingering trauma of the past that inevitably makes up part of the present and the future comes from colonization and coloniality.

[122] Many of these texts by women have European male protagonists, an allusion, perhaps, to a problem with Peruvian masculinity, and a concept that warrants further investigation.

Clara's personal relationships are markers of the social structure inherent in this modern/colonial world system. While Orlando embodies the oppressive hegemonic societal structure, Oskar is the outsider who allows for light to be cast on previously unrecognized, diasporic populations, albeit from a European perspective. Clara, on the other hand, is the truly unhomely being who occupies the border spaces between hegemony (in her relationship with Orlando) and the silences of that which is found outside. She moves back and forth between both worlds dexterously, but not without pain. In the end she prefers her unhomeliness to the oppression that her relationship with Orlando offers. Through her border perspective she attempts to articulate an alternative discourse based on her own domestic and feminine spaces in lieu of those created for and by others. In the end, however, her feminine space reveals its construction by patriarchal society, just as her relationship with Oskar reveals the continuity of the coloniality of power in the Andean conception of identity.

Clara and the other characters of the novel travel all over the world, from Belgium to Switzerland to Spain, all throughout Peru, and even to the United States. Nevertheless, we rarely see any of the characters outside of domestic contexts. Public lives, such as work, are only mentioned in the context of their effects on private life. For example, Clara applies for a research fellowship so that she can escape from her oppressive relationship with Orlando, and on various other occasions, she writes children's stories as a catharsis of emotions tied to her personal life. Characters' emotions are also linked closely with their bodies, especially in the protagonist's case. Clara's feet are constantly cold, her flaccid abdominal muscles reflect her tiredness, and brushing her teeth and showering are rituals to cleanse emotions from her body. Pacheco connects domestic spaces and the body to her grander concern for the problems of contemporary reality in Peru and throughout the world.

In effect, Clara's relationships with Orlando and Oskar reflect the state of society from the 80s to the present from an Andean perspective. Each chapter is introduced by narration taking place in the present, followed by sections that flash back to the past. The first chapter begins on a Sunday, and the following chapters register the subsequent four days. Including the epilogue, the entire action of the novel spans about a month, yet each chapter allows the reader an insight into Clara's past, starting with her years in the university in the 80s and leading up to the late 2000s. The domesticity of the events contrasts greatly with that of male narrative writers of this time period like Rosas Paravicino or Vargas Prado. In their works, concern for society is for the most part transmitted through public spaces such as plazas, schools or bars. Here though, Pacheco reveals the conditions of society through Clara's personal relationships and her conversations with Iván, Orlando and Oskar. She also inserts short historically contextualizing notes for her readers, usually at the beginning of each chapter. In the first chapter we are confronted with the effects of terrorism on university students like Clara. "La cotidianeidad urbana de aquellos años asimiló como rutina el terror, la inestabilidad, el caos. El inicio del nuevo semestre universitario estuvo marcado por una nueva campaña electoral, por las grandes esperanzas o el hondo escepticismo que generaba en unos y otros…" (*No olvides* 26)

Iván emerges as the counterpoint to Clara's ingenuity about the situations when he confronts her about her beliefs. "Ya ves, no quieres saber otras cosas, volverás a meterte en tu cápsula, te quieres ir corriendo a esconderte de nuevo en el búnker de tu casa." (*No olvides* 30) Iván's conversation with Clara is crucial because it highlights Clara's domesticity. Clara is deeply offended by his comments, yet drawn to Iván because he reminds her of her father. She defends herself, telling him that she does care about what happens outside of her "capsule" of domesticity. Iván's criticism of the space

from which Clara enunciates her discourse is significant: even he, who claims to protect the rights of the unprotected and marginalized, does not understand her feminine perspective, because even he, though politically progressive, retains the perspective of a Marxist understanding of the world, which does not break with the modern/colonial world system (and thus the modern/colonial gender system) in the way that Clara's feminine, domestic perspective attempts to break from the oppressive discourses that control it.

Clara meets Orlando at Iván's funeral, and when she decides to marry him, she is struck with a profound sense of loneliness, as if she were an orphan. This consciousness of unhomeliness is a common sentiment, as we have previously seen, in the discourses of the time of the internal war and even beyond. Clara, like all those who do not fit into the mold of the nation of non-mestizo, heterosexist, Lima-centric Peruvians, is symbolically outside of the nation, or at the interstitial space between nation and diaspora. When Clara goes to Orlando with her concerns, he casts them aside, pointing out that feelings like those are normal, echoing State discourses concerning marginal populations, especially for example, indigenous populations during the internal war.[123] Orlando continues to distance himself from the space that Clara occupies. He spends more and more time in Florida, where Clara later finds out that he has a mistress and a son, and when he is home he constantly belittles her. "¿Por qué se había casado con él? Un hombre que en cuanto acabó su luna de miel empezó a destruir su fortaleza, por lo general con palabras suaves…" (*No olvides* 71) Her marginal position with respect to the hegemonic discourse destabilizes and very nearly destroys her concept of self.

[123] It would not be until years after the end of the violence and Guzmán's arrest, with the *Comisión de Verdad y Reconciliación*, published in 2003, that indigenous voices would appear in State discourses.

At this point, Orlando's behavior mirrors that of the State discourse of the early 90s with its concern for their citizens materializing in austerity measures and impersonal market-driven policies. This distancing from domesticity causes further fragmentation of Clara's identity. She walks into a bakery lined with mirrors that reflect her fragmentation:

> Gira la vista y en otro espejo descubre sus espaldas, alcanza a ver su cuello, descubierto por el moño rápido con el que se ha sujetado el pelo, voltea y ya no se encuentra así, halla más bien su perfil y cuando quiere ver los detalles desvía la mirada y se encuentra con que está fragmentada, que mientras más se mueva, más difícil le resultará plasmar su figura exacta (*No olvides* 84).

Clara is unable to see her complete self because of Orlando's growing oppression. Pacheco links this domestic oppression both to Clara's academic works and directly to political discourse, clarifying the metaphor of Clara's position. The protagonist works with the disappearing butterfly population in the Manu jungle of Peru, marking the space of the jungle as opposite the nation, highlighting in their marginality their ability to present the existence of a "true nation" in terms of hegemony. The jungle is backward, unprogressive and cast outside of time. Yet it still remains part of the borders of the Peruvian nation, just like the feminine Andean identity that Clara represents. One day, as Clara is traveling to her camp, she thinks out loud to her driver, "Sabe usted, a mí me gusta pensar que las mariposas no han sido tontitas, que al cabo de un tiempo se han dado cuenta de que la carretera que tanto les gusta puede ser su tumba, y ya deben haber aprendido a buscarse la felicidad por otras partes, más adentro." (*No olvides* 97) Pacheco urges Clara in the same direction as the butterflies, and even in her fragmented state, Clara's instinct seems to be analogous of that which she hopes for the butterflies, to move farther inward (or outward away from a hegemonic perspective) in order to find happiness in other areas.

Yet, as much as Clara herself pushes toward the completion of her concept of self through the resolution of the past, the more it seems to slip away from her. In 1997 Clara returns to the university to teach after years away. She complains to her husband that her students do not form organized groups or protest anything, a stark contrast from her own days in the university. "Y ni un solo de sus alumnos parecía decidido a decir ni pío sobre el ambiente cada vez más asfixiante de idolatría al régimen de gobierno impartido por prácticamente todos los medios de comunicación." (*No olvides* 165) A heated discussion follows in which Clara protests the current generation's lack of action and Orlando orders her to be careful with what she says, that the political situation is different now than when they were students. We are witness to Clara's development of strength as an outsider of the constitutive elements of modernity against the official discourse when she refuses to follow Orlando's order who is a metonymic figure of the nation:

> ¡No me voy a callar! Tú eres biólogo y sabes bien que vivir en asfixia más tarde o más temprano nos pasará factura; no puedes pedirme que no hable, que no me queje. ¡Cómo puedes pretender que ni siquiera me apene vivir como un cobarde si aire! ¡Qué lástima, qué lástima me das (*No olvides* 167)!

She realizes the power of her voice, and as she does so, her fragmented identity slowly begins to recompose itself. However, Clara must be the force behind her own growth. With her sights set on her own future and that of her children, she looks to the past for answers. She travels to Trujillo after her aunt's death in search of answers, then later to Tambopata, drawn by the rivers and their link to her father's life and death. These spaces also represent other margins of the nation, far from Orlando, and far from controlling structures that could silence her voice. All the while she struggles to reconcile her role as a mother with her urge to leave her husband. The secrets of the past start to unravel, and Clara's political consciousness grows with the reconstitution of her fragmented identity.

Oskar's stories about his family help Clara to realize the importance of her past in the present. "Estoy pensando en mi país," she tells Oskar, "Estoy pensando en la cantidad de hombres, mujeres y niños que allá hoy mismo no dejan de arañar los suelos, las calles, las rocas, en busca de subsistencia… Y yo, ¿qué puedo hacer?" (*No olvides* 229) As one of the culminating points of Clara's search for her own identity in the past, Oskar takes her to Stockholm to meet a man who knew her father. In this case, Stockholm represents another diasporic identity from the past that continues to the present. In her conversation with the political refugee who knew her father, she finally understands the solidarity to which Bhabha refers that produces the translation of differences between those living on the borderline of history and language and on the limits of race and gender (*The Location* 240). There, she is finally able to accept her fate and her father's reasons for leaving his family because she finally understands the solidarity of those who occupy the borders of the nation.

As Clara arrives closer and closer to reestablishing her own identity, her connection with Oskar becomes more serious and thus more dangerous to her precarious relationship with Orlando. Clara makes plans to leave Orlando for Oskar and take her children to Belgium. Then she finds out she is pregnant with Oskar's baby. The first strong presence of the future in her present makes her hesitate and move in the opposite direction in order to protect her children. She resolves to stay with her husband and not tell Oskar about the baby, fearful of the danger that could arise should Orlando find out that the child is not his. While her past and present are now reconciled, her future and present crash together ferociously. But the past once again plays a part in her final decision. After a visit to the Inca ruins of Sacsayhuaman, Clara is able to see clearly the decision that she needs to make for her future and her children. She finds strength in the pre-colonial past, transcending the elements of coloniality represented by Orlando. With

newfound vigor she is able to tell her children and her husband her plans to move to Belgium. She leaves word with Oskar that she is going to have his baby, and departs for the Manu jungle with her two boys. From the marginal space of the jungle, outside of the oppressive modernity and progress of the hegemonic discourses of the nation, she is able to think clearly and act on her own accord. In this moment Clara's past, present and future are finally reconciled, allowing her to reestablish her own identity that does not negate any of the three. As she walks through the jungle she thinks to herself, "No te das cuenta, ya estás libre, camina tranquila, eres clara, Clara." (*No olvides* 297)

Pacheco's novel does not end with Clara's reconstitution of her full sense of self. The author elects a resolution that reflects the context of the contemporary identity. The story continues further until Oskar and his son Luis arrive to Manu. The couple is happily reunited, harmoniously joining Europe with Peru and the jungle with the *sierra* through their mutual recognition of the importance of the diasporic and migratory identity. Additionally, it is not a coincidence that their reunion takes place outside of national and Eurocentric geographies, in the marginal space of the Peruvian jungle. However, Clara is unable to recreate her new identity without her children, and more importantly, without a man by her side. In the end, Clara's concept of self is thus not fully complete. Because of Oskar's presence in the conclusion, Clara is left in an "almost" state, perhaps infinitely. The state of incompletion forces her to continuously renew her search for identity, as we saw in "El aliento." If we assume that there is an end point of completion, we resolve to continue the violence and repression of the past from which Clara is finally free. There can be no completion until coloniality is fully transcended, a step that would imply the end of the privileging of the masculine in the construction of meaning and the end of the production of identities based on the notion of race. Clara is a feminine subject with indigenous blood in her veins, living in the symbolic capital of what was once the

Tahuantinsuyu. Her incomplete identity reminds us that the colonial/modern gender system based on Quijano's coloniality of power, a constitution of the global, Eurocentered, capitalist model of power, continues to permeate all aspects of social existence (Lugones 190).

Juan Carlos Ubilluz, Alexandra Hibbett and Víctor Vich publish an important addition to Peruvian literary criticism in 2009 titled *Contra el sueño de los justos: la literatura peruana ante la violencia política*. In their introduction they underline the important role that Peruvian literature has played and continues to play in the appearance of discourses negated by the official discourse (9). It has served as a tool for intervention in public discussions dampened by silence and forgetting (Ubilluz 9), bringing to light voices that were not considered part of a national discourse. Of course, the critics argue, in any defense of the rights of citizens in a democratic republic, there will always be a supplement of colonial and oligarchic culture that does not hesitate to transgress the lines of the rights of those that it does not consider true citizens of the nation. The goal of their collection of critical essays is to illuminate both sides of this discussion so as to not allow the continued condemnation of the country to repeat its colonial and oligarchic past.

For Ubilluz, Hibbett and Vich, the transition from the 20th to the 21st centuries has created a considerable corpus of texts that represents political violence as a central theme. The analyses that are included in their study span from works by Hildebrando Pérez Huarancca, Luis Nieto Degregori and Julio Ortega to Dante Castro and Santiago Roncagliolo. Their observations are sharp and logical; they recognize that the decades of the 80s and 90s were a time period when Peruvians who were part of the hegemonic project were confronted by the fury of those who did not feel represented by it (Ubilluz 16). The investigations that follow their concise introduction reflect the recognition of such marginal discourses in contemporary Peruvian literature.

However, while Andean and indigenous writers fill up the pages of the study, which in itself is an important inclusion and representation of the primary victims of racialization and coloniality, the authors fail to mention, even as secondary examples, any female writers who use literature to insert their negated voices in opposition or as a counterpoint to the official discourse. They draw a line between the years of the internal war and today, explaining that media and the government will quickly convince its country that the 90s were the golden years of globalization, but the best is even yet to come. One must work hard without complaining or paying attention to anything that interferes with production and foreign investment (Ubilluz 16-17). While the image is enticing, it is also problematic in that it negates the social antagonisms that began the armed conflict and did not dissipate with the "end" of the war. The logic of the new post-war official discourse condemns the causes of the armed conflict, which still exist today precisely because of their origins in the coloniality of the relationship, once again to the place of that which is not represented. Ironically, or perhaps fittingly, Ubilluz, Hibbett and Vich conclude their introduction with the statement, "Lo irrepresentado de entonces sigue hoy sin representación. Si hemos regresado al pasado, es para devolverle su apertura al presente." (17)

Pacheco's most recent novel, *La sangre, el polvo, la nieve* (2010) follows the lead of *Contra el sueño de los justos*. However, for Pacheco, that which is not represented, in Ubilluz, Hibbett and Vich's terms, is the woman's voice. She returns to the past, over a century before the armed conflict of the 80s and 90s, in order to, as Ubilluz, Hibbett and Vich call it, give it back its opening into the present. The action of the story begins in Cusco in the 1950s and centers on four young men who are killed for vengeance in a century-long battle for justice and truth. Their murders occasion a look into the past, a century earlier, where the story really begins. The narration follows Giralda, the youngest

daughter of a wealthy Cusqueñan merchant through her life. We witness her birth in the first chapter, her adolescence, her marriage to Rafael, his death, and then her marriage to her second husband with whom she has two children.[124] Giralda's son is the narrator of the novel, and he speaks from contemporary Cusco when he is advanced in his years and finds it imperative to tell his mother's story. Giralda's narrative and her voice serve as a link from the past to the present. That which is not represented finds itself revealed in this novel, and its intervention into the past and the present calls for a direct temporal link, a break in the silence, so as not to continue the repressive violence of the past.

Giralda's relationship with Rafael is a central theme of the novel. She is the daughter of a family of Cusco's high society who meets Rafael when he gives her violin lessons. The two fall in love and plan to get married, but Giralda's family does not approve of her relationship with a lower class man who has been accused for his socialist ideas. Her family forces her to leave the house that she was set to inherit and cuts all ties with her, with the exception of her mother, who continues to visit Giralda secretly on occasion, so that her husband, Giralda's father, does not find out. The situation surrounding Giralda's relationship with Rafael is tumultuous at best and further irritated by the government's interest in his whereabouts and his frequent arrests for subversion. In spite of their difficult predicament, Giralda and Rafael fall deeply in love and have a beautiful connection.

[124] *La sangre, el polvo, la nieve* is dedicated to the memory of Rafael Tupaychi Ferro, an activist for education and indigenous rights during the tyrannical government of Leguía in the 1920s. He followed the teachings of José Carlos Mariátegui and was a colleague of Luis E. Valcárcel, and from these influences he organized the first communist party in Cusco. He was arrested for his militancy and participation in demonstrations condemning Leguía and his government. After being cruelly tortured in prison, he contracted tuberculosis, only being released so that his death would not reflect negatively on the prison system. He died on Peru's Independence Day, *El Día de la Patria*, on July 28, 1933, and is known as a Peruvian hero and martyr who struggled and sacrificed to build the foundations of socialism in Peru.

Their happiness, though, is overshadowed by Fermín, Rafael's nephew. Fermín never knew his father, and his mother left him in the care of his grandmother, who is also Rafael's mother. Fermín and Giralda's relationship began when they were small children. They played marbles together until Giralda realized that she came from a very different socio-economic background than her playmate. She is ordered not to associate with boys like Fermín, and upon further consideration, she begins to distinguish the injustices of the world in which she lives. "No había cumplido aún los once años y algunas noches comenzó a padecer insomnios, mortificada por no saber si era pecado sentirse tan diferente." (*La sangre* 33) Giralda perceives her place in society as marginal to that of Fermín, yet Fermín sees it as the official discourses do: he is poor, without a family, and of indigenous blood. He cultivates his hatred for Giralda and the discourses that he feels she represents by making her feel the same marginalization, yet through her femininity. He plays on her sexuality, abusing her, threatening her children and her motherly instinct, and even attempting to rape her. Giralda never tells Rafael about the occurrences though, perhaps because she considers that his struggles with his own place in society are more important than her own, and perhaps also because she still feels the guilt of belonging, due to her family's socio-economic status, while at once not pertaining because she is a woman and has been cast away from her family. She, like many of Pacheco's other protagonists, occupies a border position that allows her to view the world from inside and outside of the official discourses. Yet, like Matto de Turner in *Viaje de recreo*, she is unable to fully assume either identity, so she remains on the boundaries of both.

Fermín, in the midst of his development of disgust for Giralda, changes his name to Ramón. According to historical accounts of Rafael Tupaychi Ferro's life, Rafael's pseudonym for academic publications was Ramón Lugo. This play on identity proves to be significant from the literary perspective because Fermín metaphorically takes on

Rafael's identity when he begins to develop feelings of rage and hatred. We could even consider Rafael and Ramón to be separate sides of the same coin. While Rafael finds his voice within the marginal discourses of communist groups of the time, Ramón/Fermín does not have a voice, even when he joins together with the military and the police forces. Their hegemonic discourse does not recognize him because of his marginality. The concept of an alter identity that encompasses both Fermín and Rafael's self-conceptions links them together. We are obliged to consider that Rafael, like Fermín, in his marginality, is also representative of some facets of hegemonic discourses: Fermín in his connection to the military, Rafael in his engagement with socialism, as European concept applied to Latin American, and in this case, Peruvian, society. The two men's semblance could reside then, in their dominate masculine discourses in a patriarchal society, even in the marginality of other terms. Giralda's feminine identity contrasts with their masculine discourses, yet also coincides in its ambiguity. All three characters are, in some way, border subjects.

After Rafael and Giralda are married, the two cultivate friendships with artists, writers and other political activists like themselves. Rafael continues his work in education until his boss turns him in for subversion. Unlike previous arrests, he is held for months and beaten and tortured repeatedly. From his cell, he can hear his nephew torturing other prisoners, but Ramón never dares to personally inflict pain on his uncle. Rafael chooses to never tell his wife about seeing Ramón in prison. It is as if Ramón represents the guilt that both continue to hold on to for not being able to truly change the situation of the country, the hegemonic side of their border identity. Rafael is released from prison and returns home, just like the historical Tupaychi Ferro, only to die of tuberculosis on El Día de la Patria. Ramón continues to follow Giralda after Rafael's

death, threatening her safety and that of her family.[125] Once again, Giralda refuses to tell her new husband of Ramón's abuses, as if he represented an unforgivable action on her part. She carries his presence like an albatross, doing whatever she can to avoid it except for breaking her silence.

The tale of Rafael, Giralda and Ramón is layered between that of Giralda's grandparents, Julio César Loayza and his wife Alejandrina. In 1849, an indigenous leader arrives with his family to Cusco to denounce the authorities for illegally seizing his land and animals and to demand their return. The Cusqueñan government officials feign concern, offer him and his family a place to sleep while the report is being processed, and then call in a favor to Julio César. That night, the indigenous leader, his father, his wife and his daughter are dragged to the Loayza house, the house that much later would be part of Giralda's disinherited birthright. There in the back stables, a group of men including Julio César participate in beating and torturing the four visitors. The woman and her daughter are raped repeatedly in front of the men, the old man is hanged, and Julio César himself burns the leader's eyes with a candle, blinding him. His young daughter is beaten to death, but the indigenous leader and his wife are spared. They return to their home with bitterness in their hearts. "Con una venda en los ojos y apoyado en un bastón, el prometedor líder había regresado ciego, sin su padre ni su hija, con su esposa enloquecida y el relato aterrador que empujó a la comunidad a perder toda fe y a sobrevivir en una atroz resignación." (*La sangre* 132)

The voice of those who are not represented is pushed into a family secret that destroys those who are unable or unwilling to break its silence. Julio César's wife, who had just given birth to her first child, witnesses the entire scene. Her husband convinces

[125] See previous note on Tupaychi Ferro.

her that she will lose the rights to her child if she speaks up about the atrocity, so she keeps the terrible secret. Twelve failed pregnancies later, her body adamantly continues to insist that the evil nature of her husband not be carried on into humanity. On her death bed, she finally breaks her silence and tells her daughter Sara of the events of that fateful night. With Sara, she begins a generational chain that keeps the dark history of the family alive so that it is not forgotten. The narrator of the novel, Giralda's son (Sara's grandson), understands the destructive effects the secret has had on his family, and he is determined to change the cycle. Before he puts the violent tale into writing, he pauses. "Es mi turno, no sé como lo he de hacer, pero espero que esta vez, que quedará por escrito a la vista de la impunidad de quienes permitieron que eso ocurriera." (*La sangre* 126) The silence only allows those who are not represented in the hegemonic discourse to root their way into the depths of destructive forces. Maintaining the silence, even within the family, perpetuates the cycle of non-recognition and violence. As the narrator writes the story of the indigenous leader and his family, he breaks that silence allowing the past to finally take part in the present without obstacles.

The two plots merge into one as Ramón seeks to destroy what is most important to Giralda by killing four young men who were disciples of Rafael and the children of their mutual friends. Their deaths generate a scandal as many wonder if they were part of a murder-suicide love affair gone wrong acted out by the most effeminate of the four friends. His questioned sexuality once again underscores the heternormative, phallological discourses of their society against which Giralda and other female characters struggle. The boy's moral and ethical values are put into question because his sexuality does not fit into the categorizations already constructed by society. Once again, shame and silence are used against Giralda and the people she cares about in order to cause her pain. Giralda suspects and later confirms that Ramón is behind their murders.

In fact Ramón comes straight out and tells Giralda that he killed them, daring her to challenge her word against his, and playing on her guilt, telling her that he had sent the boys letters in her name so that they would meet up for a special ceremony to honor Rafael.

Something is altered when he speaks these words to Giralda. She feels the guilt he expected, but the silence of her guilt is broken – it seeps into the fissures now present in the official discourse and breaks it apart – just as the actual terrain of the city that witnessed the atrocities of the past century (or three), events linked to the coloniality of power that such discourses were (and are) built upon. Cusco erupts in a violent, destructive earthquake, its first in over three hundred years:

> Tanto miedo acumulado en esas penumbras. Tanta culpa de inocentes acumulada durante un siglo. Acaso la tierra había estremecido al Cusco entero después de 300 años para que esa puerta y otras puertas como esa se abrieran de una vez por todas; para que mostraran lo que había sucedido detrás de sus cerraduras y gritaran que no cabía continuar escondiendo la profanación (*La sangre* 229).

While Cusco itself embodies the fissure produced by marginal discourses supplementing those built on colonial paradigms, Giralda is slower to recognize the new identitary paradigms produced.

She returns to the house of her childhood, drawn to its silenced past. Ramón appears out of nowhere, a perfect personification of Giralda's silenced guilt passed down through her family and the presence of official discourses in her own identity as a border subject. He attempts to rape her, to take advantage once again of the femininity that has kept her in the margins. However, this time Giralda fights back. She elicits the help of Blanca, who Ramón has been sexually exploiting for years, and the two take Ramón to the stables where the indigenous leader and his family were raped, beaten and tortured decades earlier. The two women beat Ramón and consider setting fire to the house with

him inside. But Giralda has a better idea: she tells Ramón the secret of her family, the events that occurred in that very stable. As she is liberated from the guilt and secrecy through her voice, she transfers the culpability to Ramón, locking him in the stables to face the ghosts of the past.

Giralda's last words to Ramón, "Para siempre ésta debe ser su prisión," (*La sangre* 230) embody the break of secrecy and the transference of guilt. Ramón is found quickly afterwards by members of the Loayza family and set free, but he will never be free of his malevolence and hatred toward Giralda. She, on the other hand, finally finds herself liberated of the culpability of her past. Her silence is broken, and with it the silence of centuries of oppression from colonial authorities. Women in the Loayza family are able to step out of the shadows of their marginality to be protagonists of their own fate because by breaking the silence, Giralda has highlighted their importance in history. She has brought the dark side of the modern/colonial gender system to light, showing the fissures and cracks in the light side, the heterosexualist side that permeates racialized patriarchal control over production, including knowledge production and over collective authority (Lugones 206).

TEMPORAL STAGNATION AND SPATIAL TRANSFORMATION IN A CHAOTIC WORLD: NATALY VILLENA VEGA

Nataly Villena Vega, born in Cusco in 1975, is another representative of contemporary women's narrative in Cusco. She holds a masters degree in Comparative Literature from L'Université Paris-Sorbonne, and she has published short stories in various anthologies and journals. Her short novel, *Azul* (2005) won second prize in the Premio Regional de la Novela hosted by the Instituto Nacional de Cultura in Cusco in 2004. Villena's works differ from those of Pacheco and Aráoz in their ambiguous tone

and fragmented, photographic style, yet Villena explores many of the same concepts of contemporary femininity in the Andes that Pacheco and her predecessors do. In the prologue, Eduardo Huárag Álvarez discusses the cultural dynamic of the *provincias*, or areas outside of the capital:

> Por décadas el centralismo afectó la dinámica cultural en provincias. La innovación y el manejo de técnicas narrativas parecieron no haber llegado al ámbito provinciano. Las manifestaciones literarias quedaron como congeladas en un discurso recargado, grandilocuente, artificial, con excesivos lugares comunes en la poesía, o la recurrencia de temas excesivamente localistas. Por una serie de razones complejas, la creación literaria afincó más en la capital (*Azul* 13).

His perspective reflects that of literary criticism based out of Lima. The "artificiality" of the discourse in Cusqueñan literature presupposes that provincial literature was written in plain, direct, non-sophisticated 19th century-like language, and followed those literary forms as well. He holds Cusqueñan writers to those standards that mainstream literary criticism upholds, not providing a separate space or criticism of provincial literature in spite of the geographical, cultural and identitary differences that make it decidedly distinct from literary expression produced by and for the modern metropolitan capitol. Happily for Huárag Álvarez and as an extension for Villena, contemporary Cusqueñan writers are stepping up to the challenge:

> Creo que los escritores del Cusco están dando ese salto decisivo que los conducirá, si es que no lo hayan hecho ya, hacia un mejor manejo de la expresión verbal y sus posibilidades de metaforización. La publicación que se presenta es una muestra que nos permite tener una idea de la valiosa literatura que se está haciendo en esta región (*Azul* 14).

Therefore, according to Huárag Álvarez, Villena's *Azul* is an example of valuable literary production from Cusco in that it fits the characteristics of Peruvian literature already established by Lima-centered criticism. My analysis of Villena's novel does not follow Huárag Álvarez's lead. Instead, I consider *Azul* to be part of the trajectory of Cusqueñan

feminine narrative exemplified by, as I have argued throughout this chapter, writers such as Karina Pacheco, and whose influences include Matto de Turner, Caller Ibérico, Elorrieta, oral narrative like that of Carmen Taripha, and even ethnographic works like those of Carmen Escalante and Ricardo Valderrama.

The novel is made up of short, almost photographic episodes of the life of a young girl who experiences her parents' divorce, looking for a job, starting school, and dating. In a way it is a coming of age story, but there is no real plot development or resolution. Basically it is a glimpse into about a year of the protagonist's life. There are three parts to the novel, and in each subsequent part, Teresa, the protagonist, grows less optimistic and more cynical, or possibly just more aware of her surroundings. The lack of plot development definitely distinguishes Villena's novel from the works of her contemporaries, and it makes her incorporation into any previously established discourse, like that of Andean literature or women's literature, difficult to impossible. I suggest that Villena intentionally creates this divide in order to establish her own artistic expression outside of hegemonically accepted literary norms.

We meet the protagonist of the novel, Teresa, at a culminating point in her adolescence when she is forced to make adult decisions concerning her future. She struggles with these decisions throughout the novel, all the while searching for meaning in everyday actions that grow emptier and emptier as she falls into a deep depression. At her lowest point she even considers that suicide is the only solution, yet Teresa finds herself somewhat transformed at the end of the novel by looking back on her past and noting the difference. Some consider *Azul* to be a coming of age story, or a glimpse into the life of a typical adolescent growing up in Peru.[126] While I agree with this observation,

[126] See, for example, Javier Ágreda's review of the book.

I also find Villena's novel to be a portrait of a marginal generation that struggles to find a space and an identity in a contemporary Andean society that is not necessarily connected to the versions of the past that older generations may hold. Villena seeks to expand the identitary discourses of her protagonist instead of limiting them to those based on reactions to the past that do not coincide with her own.

The opening line of the novel, "Si tuviera que elegir no sería yo," is illustrative of Teresa's search for an identity that will allow her to fit into a grander scheme that she perceives as "better" or as having the possibility to make her happier, "…vería a mis padres juntos… también haría el amor cuando realmente quisiera…" (*Azul* 21) The list continues throughout the entire first chapter spanning desires as mundane as her teeth not hurting, to winning the lottery in order to buy a doctorate in comparative literature, to eliminating wars, poverty, hurricanes and underdeveloped countries. She introduces herself and her wishes for her identity to the reader, then returns to reality, to her suicidal thoughts, and her desire that she did not have to wish for such things as if they were outside of the realm of possibility. "Cualquier posible combinación haría dudar un inquebrantable suicida, segundos antes del salto libertador. Pero nada se produce así, y sé que si realmente tuviera que elegir, elegiría nunca tener que hacerlo." (*Azul* 22) There is a slight optimism to her cynical perspective, a hope that a different view of life may allow the happiness that she seeks to peek through. In the same light, the identity of the generation that she represents within the scope of that national discourse periodically solidifies enough to consider itself part of the whole before it returns to its fragmented and confused state.

Teresa's perspective on love and her emotions in general are filtered through a mundane and diluted outlook on life. She begins the second chapter by telling her readers, "Mi infancia fue común. No hay demasiados recuerdos notables." (*Azul* 22) Her

dampened emotions easily push her into a categorization as part of the younger generation that does not value life or life's lessons, as older generations are wont to say, but she contradicts herself almost within the same thought. She continues, "Nunca sentí amor. Si somos estrictos, no tuve grandes amores. Algunas veces me entusiasmé como lo suelo hacer por un plato de lasagna, por un libro o por un perro callejero, pero la primera vez que sentí algún grado de emoción empezó en la comisaría." (22) She compares her own emotions with those previous expressions that society has established for her, and therefore belittles her own experiences because they do not live up to romantic notions of life and love. She misses out on the beautiful moments of life because she is waiting for them to fit into a mold that has already been constructed for her.

Teresa's parents begin to understand the limitations of such expectations for themselves before Teresa does. After some discussion, they both come to the conclusion that they should divorce. Teresa's parents begin to experience liberation from society's expectations, and Teresa has no choice but to follow suit or be left behind. "En las últimas semanas, el clima de mi casa había sido una franca caída en parapente. Las tres habíamos iniciado el descenso, cada quien a su manera…" (23) The chaos of a lack of referent is apparent for all three characters, but Teresa struggles with the change much more than her parents. She is surprised at how quickly her father recomposes himself, while she remains fragmented and without direction. "Hace tiempo que anda solo y lo veo cada vez más fuerte, casi curado. Todos van aprendiendo a arreglárselas, menos yo." (26) Teresa's perspective on her parachute fall focuses on the end result – being cured or fixed – while her father has realized that the fall itself is the adventure.

Villena's depiction of Teresa and her father mirrors the diverse perspectives of certain sectors of Peruvian society. When the norms are removed, some fall happily into the chaos, creating or renewing their previous identities in innovative ways while others

seek a model with which to compare themselves, a way to "fix" the chaos of their identity so that it can be whole again. Teresa represents the latter category, and she demonstrates the attitude of some members of her generation toward the past. [127] Through Teresa's character, Villena argues that her city is like any other city in the world. Additionally, Teresa struggles with issues that are not exclusive to an Andean urban population, such as Cusco's. Perhaps Villena's ambiguous geographic references and global perspective resides in contemporary feminine literature's push to attempt to insert their voices into what could be called dominant literary discourse. As Huarág Álvarez states in the introduction, Villena succeeds in doing exactly that. She represents a cosmopolitan literary style that is open to international consumption in the global cultural market, yet fears the loss of its distinguishing characteristics as a unique culture.

Teresa fears that now that her father has found his happiness, he will leave her for his new relationship. Therefore, in a preemptive step, she decides she will leave him first and begins to look for her own apartment. She closes herself off from other people because she senses that the people she cares about are moving on without her. In her freedom, she feels solitude. Her grandmother passes away at the beginning of Parte II, but she does not let herself feel any emotions and instead distances herself from her family, which is reflected in the fragmented syntax and cold linguistic style she used to describe her feelings. "Morir. La abuela. También los muertos tienen que dejar de ser." (*Azul* 43) When she and her mother go through her grandmother's belongings after her

[127] It is necessary to emphasize the distinction between the group that Teresa represents and the ideology of writers of the same age group like Jorge Vargas and Braulio Mirano. We must also realize the implications of the use of a term like "generation." Here, I do not refer to "generation" as an all-encompassing categorization that assumes that literary production by people born in the same time period is similar in and only because of that fact. Vargas and Mirano's works in comparison to Villena's prove the point: Their works are focused on the implications of the Andean past in a contemporary cosmovision of the present and future. On the other hand, Villena represents a group of people, also from Cusco, but whose lives are based on an urbanized, even Europeanized, concept of society.

death, Teresa refuses to accept anything of her grandmother's because her grandmother did not give it to her personally. Just like with her father, Teresa prefers to mask her emotions by distancing herself from the people she cares about before they can hurt her, and therefore she ends up in a solitary place, alone, even when she is around people that she cares about.

As Teresa distances herself more and more, she feels the effects of her solitude. After living with her father for an extended period of time, she goes back to visit her mother and realizes her lack of control over the changes in her family. "Pareciera que al haberme alejado, las cosas hubieran salido de control. No es fácil insertarse en lo desconocido. Si hay algo que duele, es el cambio." (*Azul* 49) Her family changes as she remains the same, which makes it more and more difficult for her to participate in the present. She stagnates in a space that could be considered the present but that does not have the promise of a future, while her family moves on, if not happily, at least hopefully, into a future that she cannot conceive. On the other hand, when she negates her present, she is able to conceive of her past and future clearly. One night she dreams wildly. "Ha dejado entrar en grandes sorbos al calor, a la mágica llave que le ha abierto su pasado delicioso, su futuro alucinante. Pero nunca el presente. Nunca ese derecho de piso." (80) She cannot reconcile her temporal state with the truth of her existence because she does not want to reconcile with the truth. "La verdad ha rondado siempre mis demonios como el chico enamorado lanzando piedrecitas a una ventana que no quiero abrir." (94)

Teresa's solitude in the present culminates on New Year's Eve, a day meant for celebration and renewal. She does not have any plans, but her friends stop by her house and convince her to accompany them to a party. She starts to feel the effects of the alcohol, but once again, she distances herself from the people to whom she is close. She finds her friend's car in the parking lot and sleeps through the celebration. "Desperté

después de un par de horas con una sensación de tristeza infinita, con un vacío en el alma que me fue alejando del bullicio." (*Azul* 96) Her distance has not only removed her past and her future, but it also begins to eat away at her present. She allows it to: she sits by the side of the pool as the party continues inside and drinks half a bottle of rum, only to wake up at noon, pass out again, and then wake up in her friend's car later in the afternoon.

The devouring of her present continues after New Year's Day. In her therapy session she is presented with a Rorschach image. The only things she can see are, "…demonios con los dedos extendidos… un monstruo tonto, caballitos de mar fumando opio, el sacre-coxis… murciélagos de espaldas, pieles de zorros, animales y monstruos, nunca sonrisas, nunca flores." (*Azul* 99) Her subconscious registers the decadent state of her identity and the refusal of her present to allow her future and her past to exist at the same time. She shuts down, internalizing her pain and hoping for an escape, but the only solution she sees is suicide. She asks herself, "¿Qué se puede hacer cuando se siente haber llegado al fondo, cuando uno le encuentra gusto, repentinamente, a la idea de morir?" (105) But the question is not only directed to her own subconscious, it is directed towards the attitude of some members of her generation whose past, present and future are not fused together to form a contemporary Andean cosmovision. Instead, Teresa lives only from a present that is being devoured by her subconscious because she refuses to let down her guard in from of her family and friends. By distancing them, she cuts off the possibility of a clear link between the past, present and future.

Teresa's generation is made up of young adults who grew up during the violence of the internal war, and now, over a decade after the "conclusion" of the war, they have yet to resolve their present identity with that of the past, their only past being inhuman violence and fear, and the future, which is impossible to see because of the shadow of the

past. The only way they are able to form their identity is through the present, thus the lack of connection with Andean ideologies of the past. Yet the present cannot stand on its own, and without connections to the past or the future, it begins to decompose. In other words, Villena, just like her contemporaries, underlines the necessity of linking a present contemporary identity to the past in order to allow for a clear path to the future. Villena, however, chooses to show the inverse of the necessity, or what happens when such identitary conditions are not met. Therefore, while Vargas and Mirano's works are founded upon optimistic ideals, Villena's *Azul* is exactly the opposite: a dark, blue, solitary world.

Only at the end of the novel does the reader perceive any sort of hope on the part of the protagonist. She watches Edith Piaf singing on television and observes as a mother walks with her child outside of her window in the rain. She gets up and looks at her room, "el único lugar perfecto," in a chaotic world that does not seem to offer any answers or solutions. Then she opens a box of photos. She looks at them and realizes that her identity has not been stagnant throughout the past year. She too has transformed into a more fluid version of herself. "Sé que voy a verme diferente, sé que están algunos de mis amigos, de los que he tenido y ya no tengo, de los que recién estoy conociendo, y de los del alma, que son muy pocos." (*Azul* 108) She considers her past as it makes up part of her present, and she realizes that the chaos is not necessarily negative. "Una a una van cayendo en desorden." (108) She drops the photos one by one on the bed, allowing the chronology of the film to fragment, because she finally realizes that its chaos is an integral part of her present instead of a problem that needs a solution. The last photo that she lets fall on the bed is from her twenty-first birthday. She observes the photo, comprehending that everyone that she loves the most is present with her in the photo. Villena concludes the

novel with Teresa's acceptance of the past, which allows her to move forward into the future which she carries into the promise of a future along with Teresa.

Like Pacheco, Villena also has a short story published in the anthology of women writers, *Matadoras: nuevas narradoras peruanas*. The story "Al frente" is about two friends who embark on a journey from Madrid to Morrocco. Although the setting and the plot are substantially different from *Azul*, this short story also focuses on moving forward into the future in spite of the pain of the past and the unassuredness of the present. When the narrator and her friend Lydia arrive to the port to await the ferry to Morocco, the narrator's cat Tiago escapes from his crate. She frantically searches for the cat among the chaos of the port market, with the help of her level-headed friend. In the end, after a full day of searching, the narrator watches the sun set over Morocco and realizes that she must make a decision. She hesitantly leaves the cat and the two board the ferry, "al frente," to Morocco.

Villena's story has a distanced and international tone. However, the actual geographic specificities are of little importance. Villena uses geographic space to represent temporal distances in the past, present and future. We are reminded of how Waltern Mignolo's idea of the modern/colonial world system differs from the linear conception of modern Western history because of its spatial dimension (ix). It is this spatial dimension that becomes so important in Villena's short story because it shows its external borders where the colonial difference was and still is played out (Mignolo ix). In other words, even without explicitly stating it as such, "Al frente" articulates Mignolo's modern/colonial world system in that the spaces where the action of the story takes place are representative of much more than territorial demarcation: they are manifestations of coloniality of power.

It is significant, then, that Madrid is the mutual past of both girls, while Peru is unique part of the past and present of the narrator. Spain connotes colonization and coloniality, while Peru implies a specific interpretation of such. The port city in Spain where the action of the novel takes place is the mutual present for both girls and for Tiago the cat, an incarnation of the narrator's link to Peru in the form of her ex-boyfriend who left the cat behind when the couple separated. Movement, migration and diaspora play into the coloniality of power. Morocco is the planned future for all three, even though only the girls make it, without Tiago. They are abandoning modernity (Madrid) to re-embrace their colonized past in a new version, in the form of Morocco, also a colonized society with an ancestral heritage like that of Peru. Villena places Lydia, the narrator and Tiago in different situations within these geographical spaces in order to demonstrate their movement in relation to each other in contemporary society. The narrator attempts to bring her past and present into her future, but loses her past in the chaos of the present. Lydia moves toward the future, leaving Madrid behind as her past yet returning to her past in her future in the form of her once violent and chaotic relationship with Bianca, who will meet them in Morocco. Tiago prefers to remain in the present, and he forces his adoptive owner to choose between her past and her future.

At the end of the day, Lydia and the narrator finally decide to join the line of cars to get on the ferry. The exodus of traffic returning to Morocco reminds them that, "lo bonito siempre está pal otro lao (sic)." ("Al frente" 25) The important part is to be able to traverse the boundaries between each geographical and temporal space, as these travelers demonstrate. They move on toward the future, "al frente," because, as Lydia reminds her friend, "…todo aquello que habíamos perdido nos aguarda." The coloniality of the past is also that of the future. In her concluding remarks we understand the central argument of Villena's story. It is in the future where we will find our past and our

present. That which has been lost can always be found as long as we continue to move forward.

Villena's narrative, both in *Azul* and in "Al frente" rarely mentions Peru or Cusco specifically, if at all, but the characters are part of the coloniality of diaspora, as Cusqueñas in Madrid, for example, and the discourse on temporality reflected in her works is exemplary of that of other writers in Cusco during this time. It would be a severe oversight to exclude Villena from consideration in contemporary Cusqueñan literary trends because she does not directly incorporate an overtly Cusqueñan or Andean imaginary in her works. Instead, it is symbolic and implied. In the same light, it would also be a misstep to do what Huárag Álvarez does in the prologue to *Azul* and incorporate Villena into a Limeño-based Peruvian literary tradition on the mere basis of her high literary quality. Instead, as I have argued here, Villena represents an important part of the trajectory of both Cusqueñan/Andean and feminine literature.

BORDER THINKING AND TRANSLATION, (RE)WEAVING THE DIRECTIONALITY OF ORAL NARRATIVE: LINDA ÁFRICA GUTIÉRREZ AGRAMONTE

The same could be said of Linda África Gutiérrez Agramonte, the author of two short stories included in the anthology *Cuszco* (sic), edited by Carlos Sánchez Paz and published in 2010. As Sánchez Paz explains in the prologue, the collection is an attempt to bring a voice to the silences of Peru. He asks his readers, "¿Qué podemos entender nosotros los peruanos de los tiempos de los silencios?... ¿Cuáles son las heridas que no cicatrizan en el Perú? ¿Cuál es el límite entre el dolor y la razón que nos aqueja a los peruanos? ¿Qué somos ante la historia de nuestro país? ¿Una nación en formación?..." (13) His questions echo the inquiries put forth by Andean writers in general, and in the context of this chapter of contemporary women writers in Cusco. The name of the

anthology, a mixture of the more contemporary spelling of the city "Cusco" and its more traditional European influenced spelling "Cuzco" is meant to be provocative and conciliatory at the same time, a representation of something that is not resolved in the collective memory of the cultural interrelations of Andean societies (14).[128] Sánchez Paz links this representation to an identity that corresponds to "una sociedad mestiza y pluricultural como nuestro país el Perú." (14)

The anthology is made up of various writers who are either from Cusco or write about the city. Of the three women included, amongst the twenty male writers, Gutiérrez is the only woman who is from Cusco. Not only do these statistics highlight the importance of Gutiérrez's contribution to Cusqueñan literary production, they also underline the double marginality of writers who are both Andean and women, even in the case of an anthology titled *Cuszco* compiled with the goal of disseminating a literary atmosphere based on a pluricultural Peruvian identity. Interestingly, there are contradictory claims concerning the authorship of the stories: Both Gutiérrez and Sánchez Paz claim to have written them. The contradiction points to the characteristics of textual production from the margins in which the written nature of the traditionally oral "texts" is relatively new, similar to the polemic of the *testimonio* of Guatemalan Rigoberta Menchú published in the early 80s. It is the symptom of a new aspect of the fetishization of marginal discursivity that is in the process of gaining authority and recognition. The text itself becomes an object of dispute in its supposedly oral and Quechua nature precisely because its discursivity is becoming valued in literary markets. With indigenous and feminine voices growing stronger in contemporary Andean

[128] See footnote in the introduction of this dissertation for details on the various spellings of the city's name.

discourses, contradictions of authorship are to be hoped for, because they are a sign of the effectiveness of the change.

The double claim to authorship could also be read as a new technology of the "possession" of not only feminine but also written literature in indigenous languages is general by more dominant discourses. Taking possession of discourses homogenizes them into the hegemonic discourse so that they are no longer a threat. In my analysis, I chose to recognize Gutiérrez's authorship of the story because they were published in her name, and in the pages that follow, I assume her identity to be both Cusqueñan and feminine. Yet the confusion is a significant mark in the realm of literary politics, and it invites a much more detailed and profound exploration into the manner in which oral texts in indigenous languages are disseminated and how the appropriation of such texts establishes new forms of colonialization of subaltern knowledges.

Gutiérrez's short stories "Cabañuelas" and "Coca," provide a fresh new take on contemporary Cusqueñan feminine narrative, recalling the oral narratives of the 70s, like those of Carmen Taripha. With Gutiérrez, though, we encounter an important difference. Taripha is a monolingual Quechua speaker whose works are recorded by a third party in the written form. She is very rarely considered an "author" in terms of canonical literary criticism. By bringing her oral narrative to paper, she makes a mark on Cusqueñan literary production by women. Gutiérrez, on the other hand, could be considered the culmination of the trend that Taripha began almost four decades before. She is a Spanish speaker who studies dentistry, yet her stories tell of the origins of the world according to Andean cosmovision. In effect, she is representative of a contemporary Andean cosmovision for exactly this reason. The phenomenon of anthropologists collecting oral narratives from "natives" in order to record them for prosperity has transformed into an Andean community that records their own narratives for themselves.

In “Cabañuelas” Gutiérrez tells the story of the creation of the world from the perspective of an old man who lives in a Pisonay tree: Disagreements between the night and the day lead to confusion; nobody knows what time it is because the dark of night and the light of day are no longer telling temporal markers. Time does not stop, but it is fragmented and chaotic, which produces not only confusion, but also sadness in the community. A little boy who sits on the shore of the river and watches the results of the fighting is especially affected. The rain, snow, winds and lightning flash all around him, awaking the sun and the moon, and then enticing them back to sleep, yet there is no sound. The silence, chaos and fragmentation that Gutiérrez invokes are representative of marginal discursivity, especially, in the context of this chapter, from a feminine Andean point of view. If we consider that the silence in “Cabañuelas” is representative of marginalized discourse, we are able to draw the conclusion that elements inherent to the Andean cosmology open up spaces for those marginal discourses to be heard.

The only thing that protects the boy from the elements of nature is his poncho as he sits sadly watching the chaos of the world. The Apu Ausangate, a mountain on Cusco’s horizon, takes pity on the boy and decides to fix the situation. The sweet sound of the Apu’s voice breaks the silence, “Niño Manuelito, en este momento apagaré tu tristeza, quítate el poncho, tiende en el suelo.” (Gutiérrez A. 43) The Apu tells the boy that the four corners of his poncho are the four corners of the universe, the four silences of nature, the four spaces of the Earth, and the four shadows of the sun and the moon. He also tells Manuel to advise the people that that everyone will make offerings in the Apu’s name. Today, the first of August, the weather will be like the month of January, tomorrow, the second, will be like February, and so forth. Finally, he gives the boy all of the birds, frogs and toads, the alpaca, the llama and the vicuña, so that he will never be alone. The story concludes as many oral narratives do, emphasizing oral nature of the tale

and its effects on our life today. “Dice y dicen y, siguen diciendo, que ése niño, dicen, anda por ahí con sus regalos, por los ríos, y lagunas con sus llamitas, alpacas, huanacos, y vicuñas… Secretos y regalos del Apu.” (44)

The influences of the Quechua language on Gutiérrez’s story are noteworthy. Aside from the occasional use of words in Quechua, like *Chulla Chaqui* (foot that glides across the water) and *chacchar* (to chew) in the first paragraph, the syntax follows Quechua norms for oral narrative. In Quechua, the reportative tense is marked by the suffix –si, which denotes a form of “it is said” or “someone told me this story.” By using this tense, Quechua speakers underline the hearsay nature of the tale and remove their authorship from it. Although Gutiérrez’s stories were not written in Quechua first and then translated to Spanish, like Taripha’s or those translated by Escalante and Valderrama, she continues to use the reportative –si as she writes it in Spanish. The story begins, “Dicen los antiguos…” (Gutiérrez A. 43) and ends with even more emphasis on the oral nature of the story, “Dice y dicen y siguen diciendo, que ése niño, dicen…” (44)

While oral narratives recorded in Quechua and translated into Spanish include these elements, Gutiérrez overwhelms her readers with her insistence on them. She even mentions in the middle of the story that the old man narrating the story pauses, taking a deep breath that lashes out a cold wind. Her persistence in highlighting the oral nature of the tale is significant precisely because the story is “originally” *written* in Spanish instead of recorded in Quechua. The concept of translation is thus amplified to not only a translation of words, but also a translation of cultures, meaning, languages and world views. We must recognize, too, that translation, especially during the colonial period, but also in more contemporary anthropological works like those previously analyzed in this chapter, attempts to erase the colonial difference, sometimes intentionally, like Francisco de Ayala’s work in *Hombres y dioses del Huarochirí*, and sometimes against a conscious

effort to not do so, as in Escalante and Valderrama's autobiography of Gregorio Condori Mamani. Mignolo explains that border thinking is the result of the restitution of the colonial difference that translation attempted (and attempts) to erase (3). Gutiérrez, in "Cabañuelas," actively engages in border thinking from the worlds of written Spanish and spoken Quechua.

There is no doubt that Gutiérrez's tale comes from stories passed down through her family and her community in Cusco: she notes various traditions unique to Cusco and the cult of the Pacha Mama and of the Apu Ausangate, like the offerings during the month of August. Nonetheless, the act of writing oral tales in the manner that Gutiérrez does upsets the preconceptions of Andean oral narrative. In Gutiérrez's tale, writing is transformed into reality, not vice versa, as in the stories collected by anthropologists. This may seem like a slight change, even to the author herself, because writing and orality in contemporary Andean culture are so intertwined. However, this subversion of the norm breaks with traditional concepts of Andean culture to open new pathways in which origin myths like these are passed down through diverse media. Gutiérrez demonstrates that contemporary Andean culture is no longer subject to the traditional categorizations of spoken Quechua and written Spanish and its unidirectionality from the former to the latter. She destabilizes its directionality, and in doing so, undermines the categories themselves. In this light, we must also note that through the message that the Apu Ausangate passes down to the boy, Gutiérrez urges her readers to pass down the tale to future generations. The Apu tells the boy to tell the world about how to perform offerings in his name. Gutiérrez does the same as the boy in retelling the story through writing.

The author also highlights the chaotic aspect of the present that occupies Villena's writing. The boy watches the world in chaos and in silence, only protected by his poncho, a representation, as will become clearer in the second story, of writing. The apu

in this story, compared to that of Escalante's "Origen del Apu Ausangate," is concerned with humanity. He takes pity on the boy and breaks the silence with his voice, and by doing so, he creates a world with writing, with the boy's poncho. In return, the boy must always pay homage to his ancestors and his gods, in the form of his offerings to the Apu. In other words, Gutiérrez proposes that after a break in the silence through writing, we must continue to look at the world through an Andean perspective. Writing, then, is no longer exclusive to a Westernized cosmovision. Here, an Andean world view is able to appropriate writing, yet continue in its self-identification as Andean. Gutiérrez produces the "foreignness" of languages, its untranslatable aspect that goes beyond the transference of subject matter between cultural texts or practices (Bhabha *The Location*) in order to arrive at what she considers to be fundamental to a contemporary Andean identity, and separate from preconstructed notions of language or writing immersed in the coloniality of power.

The second story, "Coca," could be considered an extension of "Cabañuelas," but it can also stand on its own. The boy who "fixed time" is also the protagonist of this story, yet here he is the son of the Apu Salcantay, also located near Cusco, and the nephew of the Apu Ausangate. His uncle teaches him many secrets, as we saw in the previous story, like the secret of the poncho and the offerings in the month of August. He continues to spread the traditions of the Andean ideology: after he plays with other children, he tells them a secret. But the boy's significance in this story is as a weaver, or in a more contemporary context as a writer. He weaves a blanket made from four alpacas of four different colors. Each color is a different square that is woven together to form the blanket. As he is weaving, he hears the song of a little bird. The music is beautiful, and it produces so much emotion in him that a tear falls from his cheek and into his weaving, right in the center. In that very moment, the little bird sits on the boy's shoulder, the tear

is transformed into a beam of light, and the light becomes a plant. The little bird tells the boy that the plant is the gift of Roa, from the spirit of the Apu. Then he returns to his song, this time a new one, "Cuca… cuca… cuca…" (Gutiérrez A. 45)

The origin myth for the coca plant, a plant that has been important in Andean rituals and culture from pre-Inca times to the present, is a beautiful tale that links the Apus, a young boy who represents the community, and weaving. The boy weaves the blanket as Gutiérrez weaves the story, linking elements of Andean cosmology together so that they can be passed down to future generations. Here, in comparison to "Cabañuelas," the emphasis on orality is much more subtle. While the syntax recalls that of the Quechua language in its short phrases and leading adjectives and prepositional phrases, as we see for example in the phrase, "Por su mejilla surcaba una lágrima…" (Gutiérrez A. 45) the markers of reportative discourse are absent. Because this story follows "Cabañuelas" (the table of contents even lists the stories side by side as one), we can consider them, not necessarily as two sections of the same story, but as two parts of the same series. The first in the series emphasizes the transformation of writing to orality instead of its converse, and the second in the series assumes the oral nature through writing.

CONCLUSION

Feminine Cusqueñan narrative, from Matto de Turner to the present, is driven not only by a creative necessity but also by a need for social change. A regional identity stemming from a diasporic, immigrant border thinking is the overarching theme throughout narrative production, just as it is in masculine Cusqueñan narrative discussed in the previous chapter. However, women establish their identity by distancing themselves geographically while still occupying the domestic spaces of the home and

through inserting themselves in traditionally masculine spaces, literature included, taking on the conditions of pertinence to such spaces yet maintaining a distinct feminine perspective. Border thinking allows them to transition between identitary spaces thus modifying them as they are occupied.

As we have seen throughout this chapter, overcoming silence plays an important part in all of the works of Cusqueñan narrative by women in the past century. Matto de Turner defies a silence imposed on women and indigenous populations through a double-perspective both inside and outside of official discourses. Elorrieta's silences appear in the form of the indigenous populations that should be recognized for their contributions to progress and modernity. Caller Ibérico follows the paths cleared by Matto de Turner and Elorrieta to call for change in the economically driven abuse of indigenous populations through strong female characters. The work of these three Cusqueñan women is groundbreaking on various levels, as they are both Andean and female writing from a double marginality. However, the results of the paths they pave disappear into the silence produced by the societal changes of the agrarian reform and the exclusion of marginal groups in its aftermath. Violence emerges as the result of marginalization of minority discourses, which, ironically, pushes those who balance on the margins of those margins, to explore alternative literary expression.

From the 70s through the 90s, the only literary publications by Cusqueñan women come from the field of ethnology. It is not until midway through the 2000s that women begin to utilize the silence in their literary production once again. Areli Aráoz uses journalism as a means to denaturalize the notion of a hegemonic "official story" to introduce the voices left out by coloniality, although her characters are held captive by implications of their gender until the last moments of the novel. Karina Pacheco's first novel builds on Aráoz's subversion basing her argument on the concept of writing as

reality and creating, through writing, a void from the past that can only be filled by growth in the present. Her short story, "El aliento," also supports the imminence of the need to constantly renew our definition of happiness and identity in the face of stagnation. In Pacheco's next two novels, she returns to the past through domestic spaces in order for her characters to reconstruct their fragmented identities and to break the silence and repressive violence of the past. Nataly Villena Vega offers a global vision of an Andean feminine identity in her novel that portrays the struggles of adolescents to fit into a mold and the subsequent chaos of a lack of referent, and her short story "Al frente" also portrays women who move forward into the future in spite of the pain of the past and the fragmentation of the present. Finally, Linda África Gutiérrez Agramonte breaks through the chaos and silence of the present through the act of writing, which she proposes that we must continue to do through our adherence to a contemporary Andean cosmovision.

In writing this chapter, I have not only offered a general outline of contemporary Cusqueñan narrative of the past century with regards to the double marginality of these authors as women and Andean. I also hope to do as these writers do, inserting my voice into the hegemonic discourses of literary criticism that choose to ignore significant works, such as the ones presented here. I also desire to reorient traditional Lima-centered and canonic-centered discursive frameworks into a deep questioning of themselves. While I recognize that some publishing houses and cultural institutions, like Estruendomudo and the Instituto Nacional de Cultura in Cusco, have begun this process, my hopes are that this investigation pushes for a reproblematization of peripheral modernity, one challenging the metaphorical stability of Lima-centric hegemony, and even pushing Estruendomudo and the INC to reevaluate their possibly conservative approaches to the presentation of contemporary feminine narrative in Cusco. In calling

attention to the structures of power inherent in coloniality, we must not fail to realize the interconnectedness of gender and race; as María Lugones reminds us, race is no more mythical and fictional than gender, yet both are powerful fictions (202).

Conclusion: From *Madeinusa* to *Made in Taiwan*: Broader Cultural Implications of Contemporary Andean Literature

Claudia Llosa's movie *Madeinusa*, released in Germany in 2006 after an extensive tour of international film festivals, tells the story of a young girl who lives in a small Andean village, Manayaycuna, Quechua for "the town that nobody can enter." Each year, the inhabitants of the town celebrate a festival created by the director called *tiempo santo*, a period of two days between the death of Christ and his resurrection. During this time Christ is dead and cannot see the sins that people commit: even the statue of Christ in the church is blindfolded to symbolically represent his blinded state. The townspeople engage in sinful acts without guilt, drinking, dancing, acting out sexual urges, and doing things otherwise prohibited when Christ's watchful eye is upon them. In one of the first scenes of the movie, the mayor of the town discusses his intent to take his daughter's virginity with his daughter herself. She agrees to allow him to do so, but only during the *tiempo santo*.

Whereas the townspeople seemingly accept and celebrate the rituals and customs associated with *tiempo santo*, the arrival of a foreigner, a Limeño named Salvador, causes unrest throughout the town. As the plot unfolds, the mayor's daughter Madeinusa convinces Salvador to take her with him to Lima. However, Madeinusa insists on returning for her mother's earrings, the only thing that the girl has left of her mother, who escaped to Lima years ago, also during *tiempo santo*. Madeinusa arrives home to find that her drunken father has broken the earrings, and she seeks revenge by poisoning him. Yet when her sister sees what has happened, the two blame Salvador, waking everyone up, banging on doors, and repeatedly shouting the news throughout the town that "El gringo ha matado a mi papá." In the last scene Madeinusa sits contentedly in the only truck that

connects Manayaycuna to Lima, without Salvador, leading viewers to conclude that the townspeople have lynched the Limeño, leaving Madeinusa to carry out her plans to escape the town and go to Lima.

Juan Carlos Ubilluz notes that *Madeinusa* is one of the most successful Peruvian movies in international markets, but it has caused heated debates within the country itself concerning the representation of Andean society ("Nuevos sujetos" 135). Some critics argue that the movie reinforces racialized stereotypes of indigenous people as backward or archaic, while other celebrate the artistic qualities of the movie in spite of its message (Ubilluz "Nuevos sujetos" 135). Ubilluz takes a different approach: he considers that the movie is not successful artistically because, instead of asking audiences to rethink commonly accepted paradigms, it merely reproduces the same thesis on indigenous communities found in the *Informe sobre Uchuraccay* (Ubilluz "Nuevos sujetos" 144), the government commissioned report on the events leading up to and the explanations of the 1983 massacre of a group of journalists mistaken for members of the Sendero Luminoso in the small Andean town of Uchuraccay. The investigative committee of the *Informe* explains the community's decision to kill the foreigners as the result of a primitive and archaic culture (*Informe* 23) that did not understand the difference between superstitions and politics, democracy or the idea of nation:

> En nuestro país, [existe] junto al sistema jurídico occidentalizado y oficial, que en teoría regula la vida de la nación, […] otro sistema jurídico, *tradicional*, *arcaico*, soterrado y a menudo en conflicto con aquél al cual ajustan su vida y costumbres los peruanos de las alturas andinas como Huaychao y Uchuraccay (*Informe* 32, my emphasis).

From a contemporary perspective, over twenty years after the publication of the report on Uchuraccay, the committee's explanation behind the actions of the Andean community may seem convoluted and even possibly "archaic," to use one of their own

terms. As we see in the first chapter of this dissertation, writers like Dante Castro resignify the findings of the *Informe de Uchuraccay* and the similar perspective of the official discourse at the time in order to demonstrate its logical faults and create new discourses on indigenous identities that give Andean communities such as Uchuraccay (or in Castro's case the anagram equivalent Yuraccancha) agency within hegemonic discourses. In the case of the *Comisión de la verdad y reconciliación (CVR),* another government sponsored report published twenty years later that documents the violence toward indigenous people and the indifference of those who could have stopped it during the internal war in Peru, the report points to the same conclusions as the *Informe de Uchuraccay* for the death of the journalists in the Andean town, but questions the explanation of the causes given twenty years prior. Instead of citing the backwardness and confusion of the townspeople, the *CVR* explains that, "diversos agentes del Estado… alentaron esta conducta, fomentando la ruptura del monopolio del uso de la violencia legítima por parte del Estado." (*Comisión* 169) In other words, the CVR holds that the events that occurred in Uchuraccay in 1983 were not a product of another juridical system that was archaic in comparison to that of the State; the events were, on the other hand, a consequence of State intervention that, in the hands of marginal populations of the country, constituted a threat to the State articulation of identitary politics. One must wonder then, why such discourses are still being reproduced instead of problematized, and even more so, why these perspectives on indigenous people in Peru become popular in international markets.

The answer to this question lies in the difference between artistic expressions produced *about* the Andean region from a perspective of the hegemonic discourse, compared to artistic expressions produced *from* an Andean world view. *Madeinusa* experienced international success because it speaks to Western hegemonic perspectives

on racialized populations on a global scale; it echoes the same discourses that are used throughout the world to subordinate populations through race, gender, religion, sexual orientation, etc. Audiences unknowingly (or perhaps knowingly) subscribe to a fetishism or exoticism of Andean communities as they relate it to those populations that carry the same stigma yet are much more familiar to them in their own countries or regions, thus casting such discourses farther into the margins of dominant ones.

In this dissertation I have argued that those who occupy this marginal or liminal position in the Andes continue to have a voice in artistic expression, and thus in social and political contexts. I begin my argument with one of the most well-known Andean writers of the 20th century in Peru, José María Arguedas. Although all of his works deal with the liminality between Andean identities and "modern" *criollo* identity, I find that his last novel, *Los zorros* (1971), takes this liminality to an extreme, precisely because Arguedas breaks down and destabilizes the language that has been used to establish dominant identitary discourses in order to leave a spatial, temporal and cultural void meant to be filled after the end of the novel and the death of the author. Arguedas deconstructs language by way of an Andean cosmovision, allowing the musicality of language itself, instead of its literal significance, to control dialogues and represent Andean subjectivities operating within a modern, non-Andean world. Specifically, Arguedas seeks to create a concept of self for Andean people of Peru that is contemporary, yet that still maintains the fundamental aspects of the Andean cosmovision.

The legacy of Arguedas, I propose, is part of a trajectory of identitary discourses that continues on today throughout the region, notwithstanding the various forms of silence that have been enacted upon it by "modern," "progressive" Westernized discourses. The effects of such silences are articulated throughout contemporary Andean

literature, starting with the inconclusive and fragmented nature of Arguedas's last novel itself. While many consider the novel to be the unfinished result of a psychological dilemma that ended with the author's suicide, I prefer to look at the novel, in its proposal to be both a novel and a non-novel (through the insertion of the "diaries" into the novelistic form), as a representation of the liminality that the author experienced in society and sought to reflect in his literature. In other words, the silences caused by the negation of subordinate discourses are highlighted in the fragmented, inconclusive nature of the novel.

In the two decades that follow the author's death and the posthumous publication of *Los zorros*, the authors who follow articulate, highlight and destabilize the silences imposed by hegemonic discourses by employing the concept of *wakcha*, or orphan, as Arguedas understood it from an Andean point of view: For Arguedas a *wakcha* is not only an orphan whose parent or parents have died, but someone who does not have any possessions and therefore cannot participate in the community by providing food, work or shelter for others. The *wakcha* lacks a home and lacks recognition from his or her own community. The writers in the transition period after Arguedas's *Los zorros* are metaphorical *wakchas* who employ the concept of Andean homelessness in their works. The identitary paradigms that Arguedas left in a fragmented chaotic state are reflected through both the characters and the subversive nature of the language. Writers like Enrique Rosas Paravicino, Dante Castro and Zein Zorrilla begin to pick up the fragments of identity left behind in *Los zorros,* but, while they realize the only option they have is to move forward because the past is articulated through a literary *indigenista* perspective that Arguedas destabilizes to the point of it losing all signifying power, they are not able to fully reconstruct a contemporary Andean identity through literature, hence the *wakcha* identity.

Rosas Paravicino's collection of short stories, *Al filo del rayo* (1988), embodies the first steps of the continuation of this trajectory: he utilizes *wakcha* characters in different forms to subvert the dominant cultural discourse through dialogue, or through oral means. While his writing centers on the violence experienced by Andean populations during the internal war, he underlines the strength of the Andean identity in the face of such violence. In effect, he manifests that the *wakcha* will emerge on the other side stronger than anyone who identifies with normative discourses precisely because the *wakcha* is a product of and continues to maintain an Andean perspective on the world.

As we look forward past the work of Rosas Paravicino, it becomes apparent that the *wakcha* identity taken on by the writers of this time period is not just a metaphorical literary device. The lack of referent of community during the 80s and 90s is reflected in the fact that Rosas Paravicino is one of the few, if not the only, Cusqueñan writers publishing during this time period. While the original proposal for this dissertation was to focus on narrative produced in Cusco after the publication of *Los zorros,* the lack of published works in the two decades after Arguedas's death proves significant. The *wakcha* identity is thus not only literary, but also literal. I therefore selected two other Andean writers whose works center on the concept of the *wakcha* instead of insisting on the analysis of only Cusqueñan narrative. The works of Dante Castro and Zein Zorrilla complete the observations I have made about Cusqueñan narrative through Rosas Paravicino's collection of short stories and also open up the paradigm to a broader Andean perspective.

Tierra de pishtacos (1992) by Dante Castro is another collection of short stories that enunciates from an Andean cosmovision and coincides with the trajectory that Arguedas begins with *Los zorros*. Although Castro is from El Callao, Lima, he considers himself an Andean writer who follows in the footsteps of other Limeño writers who write

from an Andean cosmovision like Manuel Scorza. Castro's short stories articulate the *wakcha* identity through characters that enunciate from a *no lugar*, or non-place, a place from which they are able to reveal the inner workings of society. In other words, his characters elucidate the fissures and cracks in hegemonic discourses, subverting them in order to bring the perspective of the Andean world view to light.

In fact, as mentioned previously, *Tierra de pishtacos* rewrites the *Informe de Uchuraccay*, playing with the idea of the foreigner in Andean culture. The committee in charge of the report on the massacre in the small Andean town attributed the rationalization of the murders by the townspeople to their archaic belief in *pishtacos*, a monster said to lurk on the lonely mountain roads at night who throws a magical powder in the eyes of passersby and sucks their body fat out in order to sell it in national and international markets. The *pishtaco* is almost always a foreigner, usually blue-eyed and light skinned, who represents the dominant culture's taking advantage of indigenous labor. The *Informe* argues that the Uchuraccaínos' fear of foreigners, embodied in their belief in the *pishtaco*, caused them to kill the journalists. We are reminded of the fate of *Madeinusa*'s Salvador, the foreigner who enters Manayaycuna, an isolated town lost in space and time. Salvador, just like the journalists, is the *pishtaco* of Andean superstitions, at least from the Western *criollo* point of view. He is the scape goat for the rationalization of Andean communities as backward, archaic and contradictory to discourses of modernity.

However, Castro does what Llosa does not: he, understanding the nature (and thus, the existence) of an Andean modernity, challenges his readers to rethink the arguments of the *Informe de Uchuraccay*, problematizing their conclusions instead of repeating the same argument, as *Madeinusa* does. In *Tierra de pishtacos*, the *pishtaco* becomes an archetype of the Andean identity that the community negotiates in a

contemporary context. In fact, the *pishtaco* and the *wakcha* are linked in the fact that neither belongs to the community; both reveal the structure of the community (or nation) from its margins. *This* foreigner comes to represent the true leadership and education of the Andean identity in his marginality. The town that nobody can enter of *Madeinsua* and the *Informe* is transformed into the town that is driven by the *cholo* identity, a concept used in Peru even early as the colonial period, which is evidenced by the Inca Garcilaso's definition of the term in *Comentarios reales* as a term used to humiliate someone due to their perceived inferiority of race. For the first time in Andean narrative, Castro's collection of short stories utilizes the *cholo* identity in a positive, affirmative context. As we see in more recent contemporary Andean narrative, the concept of the *cholo* as a reinvindicative identitary paradigm becomes stronger as Andean narrative itself strengthens its fundamental concepts outside of hegemonic discourses and from its own Andean perspective.

Zein Zorrilla's *Carretera al purgatorio* (2003) represents the turning point between the transitional period of Andean narrative after Arguedas's death and contemporary narrative of the present decade. In this novel, a *huayco*, or avalanche, temporarily delays the protagonist, Ciro's, return home to Ingahuasi, the *hacienda* owned by his dying father. The *huayco* pauses time and helps Ciro clarify his place in Peruvian society. He realizes, on the one hand, that he can no longer return to the past of *gamonalismo* that his father and Ingahuasi symbolize, nor can he reconcile his present identity with the future that the other frustrated travelers seek. The *huayco* causes Ciro to recognize that he is in effect a temporal *wakcha* of the present, without a past and without a future. However, throughout the novel, the protagonist resolves his feeling of homelessness by recognizing the strength of the Andean identity of the present, not of the past. By doing so, he makes both the past and the future viable in the present, subverting

the Westernized conception of modernity that views the past as incompatible with the future, and resignifying temporal conceptions through an Andean cosmovision. In other words, *Carretera al purgatorio* creates a contemporary Andean modernity, pulling Andean identity out of its nostalgic past and into the present, making a way for its future.

This future is embodied by two Cusqueñan writers whose works are published in the late 2000s and the first years of the present decade. Braulio Mirano's essays and Jorge Alejandro Vargas Prado's novel and short stories demonstrate that Andean narrative has continued to follow in the trajectory of Arguedas's *Los zorros*; yet unlike their immediate predecessors, these works do not underline the homelessness of society in the same way that Rosas Paravicino, Castro and Zorrilla do. Both Mirano and Vargas consciously reappropriate space, language and literature into the form of a contemporary Andean literature built on the solid foundation of Andean modernity. The *wakcha* identity of the previous decades is not as pertinent because the chaos established by Arguedas's fragmentation of language and the subsequent attempts to reorganize Andean modernity have finally come to fruition. Nonetheless, these two young writers continue to resignify Westernized discourses through Andean concepts of identity such as *chicha*, a traditionally Andean corn beer, the *chichería* where *chicha* is consumed, and the idea of the *cholo* in the positive transformative light that Castro touches upon in *Tierra de pishtacos*.

Specifically, in Mirano's case, the space of the *chichería*, and *chicha* itself are reappropriated into a contemporary Andean concept. Mirano considers *chicha* to be a unifying element that brings all parts of society together, underlining an inclusionary, rather than exclusionary discourse. *Chicha* too serves as a technology that inverts the rules of the daily world through its supplemental characteristics in relation to hegemonic discourses, and it facilitates communication between different elements of society. Its

communicative qualities underscore the importance of recognition in Andean society; Mirano portrays this link between communication and recognition literarily through language. Thus, as Gabriele Schwab asserts in *The Mirror and the Killer Queen*, we can see ourselves from the outside, as both Self and Other, through language, because it is a border operation. Mirano's language, and therefore communication from liminal spaces that destabilize hegemonic discourses, are linked to the inherently Andean concept of *chicha.* The essayist even goes one step further in his last essay to resignify a colonial text written from and about the Andes, the *Comentarios reales* by the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, into a contemporary Andean cosmovision.

Vargas Prado's novel, *Antes que las primeras veces se terminen* (2008), and his collection of short stories in *Kunan pop* (2010) also consciously work on temporal, spatial and linguistic reappropriations. While the intrinsic concept is the same as Mirano's, Vargas goes about establishing a contemporary Andean identity in a different manner. He focuses on the connections between orality, technology and pop culture and how these elements of the Andean identity play in to the use of language. He negates the official version of what "Peruvian" really looks like and replaces it with his own inquiry. Throughout his novel and short stories, the author develops the answer to his inquiry by creating characters that represent various facets of what he considers to be a contemporary Andean identity. For example, in *Antes que las primeras veces*, the three main characters represent the three main elements of a modern identity - popular culture in the international market, artistic expression, and academic pursuits - which fuse together with the characters' conscious decision to adopt an Andean perspective of the world. His characters, just like Arguedas's foxes in *Los zorros*, are able to traverse linguistic, geographical and social boundaries. Likewise, *Kunan pop* reiterates the premises established in *Antes que las primeras veces*, emphasizing the link between a

cosmovision articulated in Quechua and popular culture, as the title suggests. The selected stories propose that Andean identity learn from the past yet use the present, the *kunan*, to construct modern notions of self and community.

As we take the previously mentioned works into account, it becomes evident, then, that the perspective on Andean society presented in *Madeinusa* in 2006 is not necessarily the same identitary perspective that Andean society proposes for itself. In fact, Claudia Llosa's depiction of Andean society continues to cast indigenous people "outside of time," as José Guillermo Nugent explains in *El laberinto de la choledad* (1992), denying their participation in the modernity created by the *criollo* elite of Lima. As a counterpoint to hers and other similar perspectives that came before, like that of the *Informe de Uchuraccay*, contemporary Andean narrative creates its own version of modernity that is not dependent on that which is articulated in the capital city.

This type of cultural expression is not exclusive to literary production. I consider the antithesis to Llosa's *Madeinusa*, in terms of Andean and indigenous identitary paradigms, to be a video-art project called *Made in Taiwan*, created by the Cusqueñan artistic collective called *Proyecto 3399.* The collective is a group of eight visual artists, designers and architects, contemporaries of Mirano and Vargas Prado, who were all born, live, or study in the city located 3,399 meters above sea level that gives the collective its name, Cusco.

The similarity between the title of Llosa's movie (and her protagonist) and the title of *Proyecto 3399*'s video art installation call for a closer analysis of the origin themes in the two films. I find that Llosa's protagonist Madeinusa also refers to ignorance of, yet an attraction to, international markets of popular culture. In fact, in the first scene of the movie, Madeinusa nostalgically sorts through a trunk full of her mother's belongings, pausing to look at a magazine cover with the title *Mirabel.* The

image on the cover is that of a beautiful white woman hugging her son. Madeinusa inscribes her name in black marker over the title *Mirabel*, and in doing so, conveys, through writing, her longing to become part of the culture that the image represents. Later, in a conversation with Salvador, the Limeño tells the girl that her name is not really a name. He is unable to explain its meaning to Madeinusa, but he insists that she should be called something more traditional, like María. She retorts quickly, confused yet proud, that it *is* a name because it is *her* name. She takes on a foreign mass-produced identity precisely because it is the only thing that she knows. Madeinusa's pride in her name reproduces the conception of indigenous populations, as we have seen in the *Informe de Uchuraccay*, that they are ignorant of Western cultural codes and their implications.

Made in Taiwan could possibly elicit a similar first response in its allusion to foreign influences. However, the creators of the films elucidate the choice for their title using a much different explanation:

> Nuestra época se caracteriza por la creciente urbanidad de una sociedad híbrida cada vez más deshumanizada. El fenómeno multicultural invade todo el globo y en el presente, no pueden escapar de esta avasalladora ola, ni nuestras más extraviadas punas (*Made in Taiwan*).

They underline the hybrid nature of society and the growing globalization that inevitably affects every aspect of Andean society, reaching even to the most remote areas. Already, in the first lines of the explanation of the project, *Made in Taiwan* differentiates itself from the official discourses on Andean culture. For them, the idea of a community isolated from modern globalization cannot and does not exist. They continue:

> *Made in Taiwan* surge del autoanálisis, comprender primero la ciudad y después el país, tomando como base una pregunta que nos resulta ineludible: ¿De dónde somos? Al indagar de dónde somos, en este caso, el arraigo a un espacio físico como el de la ciudad de Cusco, con todo lo que conlleva, cuestionamos y

> reconstruimos nuestra procedencia al tiempo que hacemos un juego de palabras acerca de *Made in Taiwan* o Hecho en Taiwan, como una falsa interrogante de nuestro horizonte, poniendo como punto de partida nuestra procedencia (*Made in Taiwan*)

Made in Taiwan plays with the idea of a name imposed from the outside, yet that the group has specifically chosen precisely for those qualities in order to bring attention to, question and resignify their own origins. In other words, with the name *Made in Taiwan*, the project forces its viewers to doubt that it really is from Taiwan, and then construct their own opinions on the origin of the images and music portrayed in the installation.

This strategy works quite well, the collective asserts, in creating in their viewers a reflection on the rituals and customs of the Andes, which in turn generates diverse forms of understanding the social environment and therefore contributes to its transformation (*Made in Taiwan*). Specifically, they seek to reconstruct the image of Cusco as "simbiosis entre la cultura andina y un post-choque occidental… para deconstruir y posteriormente reconstruir desde distinto puntos de vista." (*Made in Taiwan*) In the short trailer used to advertise the exhibition, hot pink text in a bold font flashes upon the screen with the statement, "En el ombligo del mundo, hay tantos artistas como piedras, 10 piedras en el Qorikancha." (*Made in Taiwan*) The words associate the city of Cusco with a specific "pop" aesthetic that calls to mind the neon signs used to advertise *chicha* music beginning in the 1980s and continuing today. Connotations of Andean pop culture seamlessly intertwine with the pre-Colonial construction Qorikancha, which today, aside from being an archeological point of interest, is also a museum housing art from pre-Colonial to contemporary times. Behind the letters, short video images of today's Cusco, some of modern advances like transportation, buildings, construction projects and school, and an equal number of the negative effects of such advances, like a contaminated river, mounds of trash and gray polluted skies, flash behind the pink text. The combination of

the elements is at once shocking at the same time decidedly Cusqueñan. The conglomeration of images is meant to evoke feelings of recognition and nostalgia from its viewers.

In fact, each of the eight videos that follow takes a song from popular culture, usually a song either in Spanish or English toward which the collective of artists of *Proyecto 3399* professes to feel some sort of nostalgia from their youth. Some of the songs include Brittany Spear's "Baby, One More Time," "El meneito" by Natusha, and the song "Boys" by Sabrina Salerno. Each song has been translated from its original language to Quechua, sung by native Quechua speakers Milagros and Yuri Palomino, and set to videos that the group considers to reflect the contemporary Cusco in which they live. The images that accompany the catchy pop songs are those of everyday public Cusco: streets, statues, construction, public transportation, markets, etc. Like the trailer, images flash upon the screen in quick bursts. The high contrast images are modified into negatives, primary colors, or with neon-colored highlights. Cusco's millenary past is part of the present that is constantly moving, and its movement is reflected in the quick flashes of the images themselves, the repeating themes of dancing, or in the movement of cars speeding down highways and past buildings.

Through the juxtaposition of elements that are usually considered incompatible in the official discourses of national identity (Quechua and popular culture), the collective hopes to start a dialogue about the contemporary elements of Cusqueñan (and thus Andean) society. The use of language is one of the key points of this discussion, especially in regards to the translation of pop songs to Quechua. The translations have received mixed reviews ranging from laudatory to acute disapproval. After the exhibition in Cusco and a second one in Lima, one of the Quechua speaking audience members commented that it sounded to her as if the Quechua had been changed to accommodate

the melody, that the melody and not the logical grammatical structures had been a priority, and another mentioned that the ideas of love and falling in love were too Westernized to be translatable to Quechua (Vargas "Una respuesta pasional"). Others, like linguist Bruce Mannheim, mentioned that *Made in Taiwan* created "borders." (Vargas "Una respuesta pasional")

The translator of the project, Jorge Vargas Prado, whose works I have analyzed in the second chapter of this dissertation, is also one of the foremost narrative writers of the new generation of contemporary writers in Cusco. His opinion on the project's use of language and its translatability follows. When asked about the possibility of "decolonizing" the Quechua language, as some critics of the project pointed out was lacking in the translation, he responds:

> Yo creo que sí, que hay muchas cosas que descolonizar en nuestra sociedad (como la vergüenza que un quechuahablante siente por su lengua), pero posturas arcaizantes e idealizadoras del pasado creo que no funcionarían para mantener "viva" una cultura. De hecho, hay valores que podríamos rescatar (ayni,[129] yanantin,[130] respeto y amor por la pachamama[131]) para juntarlas a otras maneras de ver el mundo (como la occidental) y CREAR algo bonito, que pueda salvarnos de los modelos de desarrollo que nos están llevando a la destrucción (contaminación, basura, individualismo extremo, falta de amor al prójimo, etc.)… Con respeto al lenguaje de *Made in Taiwan*, yo lo prefiero leer como un intento de diálogo armonioso entre las dos culturas, como un hermanamiento, no como una imposición de ideas occidentales sobre la cultural andina (Vargas "Una respuesta pasional")

Vargas and *Proyecto 3399*'s vision of contemporary Andean culture falls in line with the premises that Arguedas established with *Los zorros*. Language can be used as a marker of Andean culture, but it is not necessary to encapsulate the Quechua language to protect it from outside influences. As a "live" language that is used today, it will be constantly

[129] *Ayni* is a traditional form of mutual help practiced in indigenous communities in the Andes.
[130] *Yanantin* describes a harmonious relationship between what Western culture would consider opposites.
[131] *Pachamama* is the term used to describe the Earth Mother; she embodies universal feminine energy in time and space.

manipulated and transformed. The "borders" to which Mannheim refers, are, I propose, the same borders that Arguedas's foxes in *Los zorros* skillfully cross, precisely because they, like the contemporary inhabitants of Cusco and other Andean provinces, are border figures, in Mignolo's sense of the concept, who traverse the borders between two worlds, belonging and not belonging to both, yet highlighting the underlying structures of the discourses that have constructed both worlds. Thus while Mannheim may consider that *Made in Taiwan* creates borders, he is actually perceiving the existing borders that have been brought to light.

As mentioned above, *Proyecto 3399*'s *Made in Taiwan* echoes the trends that we have observed in Andean narrative in the most recent years including, especially, the focus on male-dominated public spaces. Although the majority of the songs chosen for the project are sung by women (Brittany Spears, Natusha, Sabrina Salerno, Aqua, Grupo Kaoma and Concha Velasco, versus the two sung by Michael Jackson and Grupo Magneto), the fact that, first, the images are all taken *outside* of the home, in spaces traditionally occupied by men, like buses, taxis, and even nightclubs, and second, that the songs portray heteronormative discourses on love and romantic relationships, reiterates the double marginality of Andean women even in contemporary Andean cultural expressions. As we have seen in the third chapter of this dissertation, feminine Cusqueñan narrative suffers from the silences not only imposed by *criollo* identitary discourses on Andean ones as Walter Mignolo and Aníbal Quijano theorize with the concept of the modern/colonial world system, but also those discourses emanating from a patriarchal society immersed in the modern/colonial world system that María Lugones terms the colonial/modern gender system.

I consider Clorinda Matto de Turner to be one of the first women writers from Cusco to manage this double marginality through her literary expression. She does so by

inserting herself into official literary paradigms in order to subvert them or to create new concepts of identity from within. In spite of Matto de Turner's somewhat privileged place of enunciation, her writing, especially in works like *Aves sin nido* (1898) and *Viaje de recreo* (1909), lays the foundations for contemporary feminine Cusqueñan narrative. Matto de Turner and the women writers who follow use different tools to establish their identity. Some choose, as their male counterparts, to use Cusco as the setting for their narratives, while others geographically distance themselves by setting their stories in distanced places like Europe or the Amazonian jungle. At the same time, the vast majority of female narrative writers occupy the domestic spaces of the home in order to insert themselves into conventionally masculine spaces, like that of literature itself. Here we see a difference with *Made in Taiwan* and masculine Andean artistic expression in general: The spaces represented in the latter are public, not private. There is not an absence of women, but perhaps still an absence of their voices.

After Matto de Turner's death in the early twentieth century, a silence demonstrative of the double marginality of feminine Cusqueñan voices lasts until almost half a century later. In 1950 Genara Elorrieta publishes *Fueron tres vidas*, and six years later we see Clorinda Caller Ibérico's *Doña Shabi* (1956). Both women, like Matto de Turner, come from socially privileged position in society in spite of their marginality as women and Andean. Their novels conform to literary conventions of the time period, yet they utilize the space of the novel to criticize the various structures of society, including racism and the effects of the continued globalization of the national economy. Like Matto de Turner, these women think from the borders of their position as Cusqueñan women; they are at once part of and excluded from the society that they criticize, and as such, are able to marginally insert their voices into the hegemonic discourses that exclude them in identitary articulations.

After the 1950s, another fifty years passes by until we see any more narrative publications by women from Cusco. This silence, however, does not mean that women cease to represent themselves through cultural expression. Political changes like the agrarian reform, and the subsequent violence and repression in the Andean regions that was a product of the internal war caused women to self-censure or utilize different forms of artistic expression. Oral narratives and *testimonios* became the choice form of expression for Cusqueñan women during these years, as we can see with Carmen Taripha and Carmen Escalante Gutiérrez's publications. Taripha, a monolingual Quechua speaker, orally narrated stories and poems to Jorge A. Lira, who published written translations in various places including a book titled *Canto de amor* (1956). Whereas it is thanks to Lira that non-Quechua speakers are able to hear Taripha's voice, Taripha recognizes her position as an indigenous female and tells her stories in a language dominated by the Spanish of the national discourse so that they can be translated from orality to writing, yet she does not succumb to the pressure to Westernize her discourse in order for it to fit into the genre of written literature. Instead, Taripha toys with the ideas of the marginality of women and indigenous people, and of writing and orality, underlining her awareness of the underlying structures in which she articulates her stories, while also destabilizing those hegemonic discourses making a space for her own voice.

Carmen Escalante Gutiérrez and her husband Ricardo Valderrama Fernández are two Cusqueñan anthropologists who have dedicated their careers to recording and translating oral traditions and rituals from the Andean region. One of their most widely known works is the autobiography of Gregorio Condori Mamani, a monolingual Quechua speaker whose life story, along with his wife Asunta Quispe's, is recorded, transcribed and translated into a written text by Escalante and Gutiérrez. While this work is an

important contribution to studies on Andean culture that echoes the themes that I have found recurrent in contemporary Andean literature, in this section of my dissertation I am interested in how female Cusqueñan writers utilize alternative literary expressions to destabilize hegemonic discourses. In this light, I chose to analyze a short story titled "Origen del Apu Ausangante" recorded by both Escalante and Gutiérrez and translated into Spanish.

While in the case of Taripha, we can consider her stories to represent both a feminine and Andean point of view, because of the dual "authorship" of Escalante and Valderrama's story, and because the actual author of the narrative is not stated, we are unable to distinguish a feminine perspective in the works by the ethnologists or by the author him/herself. Thus, Escalante and Valderrama's "Origen del Apu Ausangate" serves as another reminder of the strength of alternative literary discourses for marginal populations. We are also reminded of the use of oral narrative in stories similar to this one in written narrative by most recent contemporary Cusqueñan female writers like Linda África Gutiérrez. As we see later, Gutiérrez's short stories metaphorically embody a migratory identity, blurring the lines between individual literary creation and traditions passed down in the community. Specifically, they invert the traditional concept of the oral tradition recorded in Quechua and then translated to writing and to Spanish: her stories are written in Spanish yet evoke a Quechua orality, thus demonstrating that contemporary Andean culture is no longer subject to the traditional categorizations of spoken Quechua and written Spanish and its unidirectionality from the former to the latter and questioning the same unidirectionality in migration from "backward" rural regions to "modern" coastal cities.

Like Gutiérrez, other female Cusqueñan writers beginning in 2005 employ aspects of alternative literary discourses, like the oral tradition, in their works in order to

destabilize traditional conceptions of what Andean literature should look like and who should be writing it. Marfil Francke develops this idea by explaining that, "Hay una manera específica de las mujeres de hacer historia, dada por las prácticas que intentamos y desarrollamos para ordenar el espacio doméstico y velar por la reproducción de nuestras familias y comunidades." (98) Women create history in a different manner because, as Francke continues, "Desde la época colonial, las mujeres han tenido espacios diferenciados y han desarrollado concepciones propias del tiempo, de la vida y del deber social." (98) Literary reflections of this distinct history developed in different spaces echo the same construction: Since the time of the Conquest, women have utilized the spaces provided for them through the dominating modern/colonial world (gender) system in a manner that gives them a voice. It is for this reason that feminine voices like those of Taripha and Escalante, even though they are not technically producing literature (although we must remember that definitions of literature also come from the *criollo* elite and their interpretation of international and national markets), are fundamental aspects of feminine Andean literary discourse.

The female authors that begin to publish their narrative works in the second half of this past decade pick up elements of such alternative discourses in their novels. In *Después del silencio* (2006), Areli Aráoz, a well-known Cusqueñan journalist, utilizes journalism as a means to denaturalize the notion of a hegemonic "official story" during the violence of the 80s and early 90s in Ayacucho. The novel itself breaks the through the silences imposed by official discourses on those who have a different version of the events of the internal war, but her female characters continue to struggle with the social implications of a modern/colonial gender system. Only in the last moments of the novel does Aráoz imply a possible escape for her female protagonist. The possibility may be

fleeting, but it provides a foundation upon which other female Cusqueñan writers will develop their own possibilities for Andean women in contemporary society.

Karina Pacheco's first novel *No olvides nuestros nombres* (2006) also appears in book stores the same year, and is followed by two more novels, *La voluntad del molle* (2009) and *La sangre, el polvo, la nieve* (2010) and various short stories published in different journals and anthologies, like "El aliento" from *Matadoras: Nuevas narradoras peruanas* (2008). Throughout all of her works, Pacheco returns to the past through domestic spaces to break silences imposed by coloniality and reconstruct identities in the present. Each work explores a distinct aspect of an Andean society that struggles with racism and violence in different manners. *La sangre, el polvo, la nieve*, for example, utilizes the Loayza residence, a colonial construction in downtown historic Cusco, and the Loayza family's violent history, to reveal that which is not represented, specifically indigenous and feminine discourses, through its intervention into the past. The voices of the unrepresented are pushed into a family secret in the back patio of the house that haunts the Loayza family through its presence. Maintaining the silence, even within the family, perpetuates the cycle of non-recognition and violence.

Only when the secrets are articulated, verbally or through writing, do marginal discourses seep into the fissures in the official discourse and break it apart, both literally and metaphorically. Cusco erupts in a violent, destructive earthquake just as the protagonist of the story returns to her childhood home, the Loayza house, to open up the doors of the back patio, this time to enclose within it the representation of dominance over women and indigenous peoples, thus liberating herself from the guilt and secrecy of the past. Her silence is broken, and with it the silence of centuries of oppression by racialized patriarchal discourses. The Loayza house is left in a decadent state as Cusco rebuilds its city after the earthquake; The house and the city itself are both spatial

representations of the hope for the construction a contemporary Andean identity that does not depend on the hegemonic definitions of modernity linked to the modern/colonial world system.

Likewise, Nataly Villena Vega's works, which include the novel *Azul* (2005) and a short story, "Al frente," also published in *Matadoras: Nuevas narradoras peruanas*, incorporate silences and alternative literary discourses to create a contemporary Andean perspective. A superficial reading of Villena's works may reveal a distancing from a specifically Andean or Cusqueñan perspective, both geographically and ideologically; Villena's themes and narrative style could be considered "global" or "cosmopolitan" for this reason. Yet as we delve deeper into the fragmentation of the text, its cinematographic style, and the underlying themes of loss and chaos, we realize that Villena too fits into the trajectory of contemporary Cusqueñan narrative first embodied by Clorinda Matto de Turner over a century before. Villena deals with struggles of a contemporary Andean woman to fit into previously established identitary categories and the subsequent chaos of a lack of referent, struggles that are representative of younger members of society like herself who were born during the internal war, yet whose memories consist of the political and social aftermath. In other words, Villena represents a generation without a referent; yet she too, like other Cusqueñan narrative writers, incorporates an Andean perception of time into her solution, simply allowing instead of struggling against its chaos, content to leave the forced chronology of Western society in the margins of her own existence.

From Arguedas's *Los zorros*, we are able to trace a trajectory of contemporary Andean narrative that questions and rewrites hegemonic discourses on identity, especially concerning a racialized Andean identity linked to "backward" or "archaic" Quechua-speaking cultures. The musicality of language versus its literal meaning takes precedent

in *Los zorros*, and this connection to musical logic also continues throughout contemporary Andean cultural expressions in the present. *Made in Taiwan* is exemplary of what Zein Zorrilla considers:

> … un arte literario andino, al margen de los libros y los maestros, que *se renueva de modo sorprendente a cada generación*. Y curiosamente, este arte literario se expresa siempre en conjunción con la música. *No me importa si es atraso o adelanto con respecto al desarrollo artístico de Occidente*. El caso es que es así y estoy seguro que ese nexo en nuestras latitudes, no desaparecerá ("La novela andina", my emphasis).

Zorrilla views the musicality inherent in Andean literary expressions as a unique quality separate from artistic development of Western cultures that is constantly renewing itself in contemporary contexts. The narratives I have analyzed in this dissertation are representative of different facets of this musicality, especially in its independence from Western world views and its continuous movement and resignification, like the themes of rivers and blood to which Arguedas returns throughout his works.

However, *Made in Taiwan* brings to light various issues particular to the Andean region that have been absent in previous cultural expressions. *Proyecto 3399* describes Cusco as "una sociedad híbrida cada vez más deshumanizada" that cannot escape the overwhelming wave of "el fenómeno multicultural [que] invade todo el globo." (*Made in Taiwan*) *Proyecto 3399* once again forces its audiences to reconsider, doubt, and create on their own accord their opinions on the celebrated notions of hybridity and multiculturalism in relationship to globalism. They urge their viewers, Limeño and Andean alike, to not take hegemonic discourses on Peruvian identity for granted, and instead reconstruct them from distinct points of view so that they are able to see both their positive and negative effects. In a global society, the implications of language and translation become all the more important in the questioning of hegemonic discourses. Projects such as *Made in Taiwan* and the narrative works analyzed throughout this

dissertation are exemplary of a trajectory of contemporary Andean expression that began with one of the most prominent Andean writers of the twentieth century, José María Arguedas.

These types of projects, too, are merely the beginning of discussions on Andean identity that will resonate in national and international discourses in political, social and academic spaces for years to come. With this dissertation I seek to open up a dialogue for future investigations that will explore the nuances of these contemporary identitary discourses. We must ask ourselves, for example, to what *Proyecto 3399* refers with their description of "una sociedad híbrida cada vez más deshumanizada (*Made in Taiwan*)" if hybridity presupposes a mixture of two, but in contemporary globalized Cusco, there exists a mixture of many: not just indigenous peoples and *mestizos*, but also foreigners from every corner or the world. In this sense, Cusqueñan and Andean identity would take on new meanings within coloniality's paradigms. The question would then arise as to whether an indigenous cosmovision could survive under these circumstances, even if fused with other, alternative understandings of the world.

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Vita

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